

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. X—OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1919—No. 4

THE SIÈGE DE BARBASTRE

THE *Siège de Barbastre* exists in five manuscripts and is as yet unpublisht. It numbers about 7,000 rimed Alexandrine lines, with occasional assonances. The *laissez* end with the well-known *petit vers*. The poem is ascribed to the last third of the twelfth century, and the oldest manuscripts seem to belong to the middle of the following century. Few of the unpublisht Old French epics equal the *Siège de Barbastre* in merit and charm. In view of the fact that for some time it will be impossible to publish so long a poem, it has been thought well to offer here the following passages, together with a brief narration of the events which connect them.¹

The manuscript utilized was the well-known cyclic MS., 1448, fonds français, of the Bibliothèque Nationale. It was possible for the author of this article to copy between two and three thousand lines of the *chanson* at odd moments during the tragic winter of 1917. MS. 1448 was preferred to MS. 24369, called La Vallière, because of its greater age and more distinctive character.

The *Siège de Barbastre* bears, as it were, the personal stamp of the poet, who must have been a man of ability and skill. He knew how to construct and develop a plot, and he had unusual feeling.

¹ G. Paris ascribes the poem to the twelfth century: *La Littérature Française au Moyen Age*, paragraf 41 . . . Viktor Keller, *Le Siège de Barbastre und die Bearbeitung von Adenet le Roi*, Marburg, 1875, based his brief study on MS. 1448, which he had copied—with not infrequent errors, he it said. His literary appreciations are good. . . . Arthur Bovy, *Adenet le Roi et son Œuvre*, Brussels, 1889, also follows MS. 1448. He offers a much more detailed recital of the events of the *Siège* than did Keller. . . . Ph. Aug. Becker, *Der Siège de Barbastre*, in *Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie, Festgabe für G. Gröber*, Halle, 1899, publisht a recital of the events of the poem, based on MS. 24369, an interesting article of fifteen pages.

for beauty—for flowers, music, pennons and flags, precious stones, rare stuffs, forests, rivers, helms that flash, marching armies, the hoof-beats of swift horses, the society of fair women, the sight of a distant city. He was fond of metaphors and comparisons, as will appear from the passages cited. Furthermore, he possessed a knowledge of the epic traditions of the cycle of Guillaume, and was evidently a lover of old *chansons de geste*.

A few words as to the treatment of the text. Punctuation and capitals have of course been introduced, in accordance with modern usage. Defects in grammar and orthograpy have not been remedied. I and j have been differentiated, as also u and v. The motto which determined the treatment of the text was one, which, let it be hoped, will, in some modification or other, become general: "Back to the manuscripts!" A poor manuscript is, for the purpose of the scholar, preferable to a learned restoration.

It seems wise to give *in extenso* the opening passages of the poem, as follows:

- Plaist vos oïr chanson bien faite et conpassee? (fol. 110 r^oa)
 Toute est de vielle estoire, de lonc tens pourpanseie.
 Molt fait bien a oïr, pieça ne fut contee.
 Toute est de la lignie que Dex a tant amee,
 5 De la geste Aymeri, qui proesce a duree.
 Ce fut a Pentecouste, une feste honoree.
 Li cuens fut a Nerbone, sa grant cité fondee.
 Ses filz out despartis, chascuns tint sa contree.
 N'out que Guillaume o lui a la chiere manbree,

5 Most of the names of persons are abbreviated in the MS., as is usually the case. Frequently the initial letter is alone given, with sign of abbreviation, as for *Guillaume* in line 9 and *Bovon* in l. 10. As for *Hermenjart* in the latter line, the only letters written out are the *Hr.*, but we find *H'meniart* in the nominative once. The form *Hermenjart* will be used for both the nominative and accusative, since such seems to have been the practice of the scribe for names ending in t, such as *Corholt*, *Gerart*, *Amustant*, *Hunalt*. The author probably wrote *Guillaumes* (or *Guillelmes* of course) for the nominative, if we may trust the evidence of non-elision. There is great irregularity in the writing of the name *Bove*. The scribe writes *Bove* and *Boves* for the nominative, and *Bove*, *Boves* and *Bovon* for the accusative. In the majority of cases, the name is abbreviated. The initial A for Q of line 364 and the error in the repetition of *antor* in line 555 have been corrected: see the notes to these lines.

- 10 Bovon de Conmarcis, Hermenjart la senee.
Dont tint li cuens sa cort en sa sale pavee,
A .ccc. chevaliers a mesnie privee.
La sale fut molt bien antor ancortinee;
De jons et de mantratre et de ros fut pavee.
- 15 Les napes firent metre, cant messe fut chantee.
Aymeris sist au dois, qui proesce agreee,
Et Guillaumes d'Orenges a la brace quarree.
Gerart servi au dois de la cope doree,
Et Guibelins li mendre tint la verge paree.
- 20 De mes, d'oisiaus farsis n'i ont fait demoree.
De poons ne de cines n'i out fait devisee.
Tant an done chacon, ja la cort n'iert blamee.
Après lou mangier ont la quintaine fermee.
Aymeris s'an ist feurs soz Nerbone en la pree.
- 25 La feste fut molt haute si l'ont molt honoree.
Li bordeiz commence tout aval an la pree,
Mais ans que vespre soit anclinee,
Aura mestier au plus hardi s'espee,
Car l'amirant d'Espaigne a sa gent mandee,
- 30 Et l'amistant de Cordres, qui siet sor mer salee.
Bien sont xl.m. la pute gent desvee.
Si com l'amirant jure sa foi et sa pansee, (b)
Deques a Mon Lon iert s'ansaigne portee
A Saint Denis en France iert s'ansaigne portee,
- 35 Puis vendra a Nerbone, la grant cité fondee.
S'il puet prendre Aymeri, la teste aura copee.
Dame Hermenjart sera aus escuiers livree.
Je cuit ceste parole ert a neant tornee,
Ans en iert maint escut, mainte lance froee,
- 40 Maint païen jeté mort, envers, gole baee.
Ci commence chançon de bien anluminee.
D'amors et de paroles est molt bien aornee,
De grant chevalerie, s'elle vos est contee.
Se il est qui la die et elle est escoutee,
- 45 Ne cuit qu'elle vos faille de si a l'avespree.
Estraitte est do lignage.

26-28 Imperfect meter has not been corrected. Part of the training of a student should be the discovery of such lines as these and the suggestion of corrections.

- Au jor de Pentecoste que vos m'oés chanter
 Tint Aymeris sa court a Nerbone sor mer.
 C. chevaliers i fist de novel adouber.
- 50 Ans n'i ot chevalier qui la volsist aler,
 Qui n'i aüst bel don, jel vos di sans fauser,
 Mantel o vair ou gris tel c'on lou volt doner.
 En après lou mangier font quintaine fermer.
 Aymeris s'en ist ferirs, et si prince et si per.
- 55 Dame Hermenjart i fait son pavillon porter
 Por lou chault qui fut grans qui ne pot andurer.
 Ansanble ses pucelles vait la dame joer,
 Et font ces ours beter, ces joeors taborer.
 Fierent en la quintaine cil ligier bacheler.
- 60 Mais ansois qu'il soit vespre i aura que plorer,
 Que l'amirant d'Espaigne fait sa gent asanler.
 A xl.m. les a l'an fait esmer.
 Aymeri volent prendre a Nerbone sor mer,
 Puis corront par la terre.
- 65 As pres desoz Nerbone sont François en la plaigne,
 Et Hermenjart la franche, qui out la douce alaine,
 I fist tendre son tref, ne fist pas que vilaine.
 Tout fut d'un ciglaton, n'i ot ne lin ne laine.
 Les cordes sont de soie, li païsson sont d'araine,
- 70 Et l'estache d'anmi de l'os d'une balaine.
 Honques Dex ne fist dame de maladie plaine,
 Se elle i puet dormir ne soit haligre et saine.
 D'autre part de la tente sordoït une fontaine
 Que fist par artgumant .j. roi de Bruiène. (v^oa)
- 75 La croist la mendeglore, l'ancens, la tubiène.
 Hermenjart fut antree, la franche chastelaine,
 Et si prist ses pucelles et chanta primeraine
 Con Troie fut deserte et Paris prist Elaine
 Et Menelaus ocist es pres desoz Micene.

54 Ferirs is an error for fors (or fuers or feurs). MS. 24369 has hors.

74 Artgumant: MS. 24369 has artimoire, which means magic. It would hardly do to transcribe the line: Que fist par art Gumant (or Guinant) .i. roi[s] de Bruiène, as one scholar has suggested.—Cf. Godefroy s. v. *argument*.

78 Con is written in abbreviation. Most scholars would here transcribe it com. In l. 186, the scribe wrote the word out: con.

- 80 Et nos François bohordent es pres a la quintaine,
 Mais il ne vairont vespres ne la nuit primeraine
 Molt auront grant paor nostre gent seignoraine,
 Car l'amirant d'Espaigne, li filz a l'amistaigne,
 Est antrés en Gascoigne plus a d'une semaine.
- 85 Roy Yon ancontra en val de Moraine.
 .M. Gascons lor a mors et iiij.M. enmoine,
 Et li rois eschapa sor .j. cheval d'Espaigne.
 A tant es vos .j. mes qui de l'errer se poïne;
 Et fut el cors navrés d'une grant lance plaine,
- 90 Si que parmi l'auberc li sens vermalz li baigne.
 Sanglant est li haubers, la selle de Sartaigne.
 A bon destrier corant est faillie l'alaine.
 Tant l'ot lo jor coitié c'a grant dolor le moine.
 Et trova nos François soz Nerbone en la plaigne.
- 95 Ja lor dira noveles de la geste grifaigne,
 Des felons Sarrasins, qui Dex dont male estraine.
 Or pent Dex d'Aymeri qui fist la quarentaine!
 Ses pechiés pardona Marie Magdelaine,
 Et gairi saint Jonas o ventre la balaine,
- 100 Car se paien l'ataingnent, ja n'istra mais de poine
 A nul jor de sa vie.

As pres desoz Nerbone sont François el sablon.
 A joie bohorderent, honques n'i ot tançon.
 A tant es vos Gerart, lou fil au duc Bovon.

- 105 Mist sa main a Antiaume, lo seignor d'Avignon,
 Puis en a apelé Berangier et Sanson,
 Huon de Morinvile et son freire Guion,
 Et Jofroi l'Angevin et Hunalt lou Breton,
 Savari de Cologne, Gautier de Teracon.
- 110 "Seignor, ce dist Gerart, entendés ma raisson!
 Nos sires Aymeris n'a soing se de pes non.
 Maldite soit Espaigne, la terre Faraon,
 Cant sore ne nos corent a coite d'esperon,
 Que chascons poist tendre son vermail ciglaton!
- 115 Or ne seit on a dire qu' est malvais ne qui non.
 Mais par la foi que doi au cors saint Simion,
 Ja ne vairés .j. mois, qui c'an poist ne qui non,
 Que ge cuit assaillir lou lignage Mahon!
 Chascon de vos donrai o chastel ou donjon."

(b)

- 120 De cest mot s'esjoissent trestuit li danzillon,
 Mais ansois qu'il soit vespre changeront lor raisson.
 Es vos lou mes qui vient brochant a esperon,
 Et fut el cors navrés et se tient a l'arçon.
 Tant out lo jor hasté son auferrant gascon
- 125 Sanglant avoit lo cors, lo vis et lou crepon.
 Aymeris li vait contre, antre lui et Bovon.
 Gentement li demandent: "Comment as tu a non?
 Quel gent as tu trovés? Conte nos ta raisson."
 Mais cil ne lor pot dire honques ne o ne non,
- 130 Ans enbruncha lou chief si baissa lou menton.
 .IIII. fois se pasma antre les bras Guion,
 Mais li cuens lou detint.
 Li chevaliers se pasme desor son auferrant.
 Li conte l'an descendent soëf et bellement.
- 135 Au pens de lor bliauz la lou vont refroidant.
 Des pamissons revint si geta .j. plaint grant.
 Aymeris l'araisone qui lou va molt hasant:
 "Quex gent as tu trovés? conte nos ton sanblant!"
 "Je ne puis, biaux dolz sire, car dolor ai itant.
- 140 Hons suis au roi Yon de Gascogne la grant.
 Hui matinet nos vinrent Sarrasin et Persant,
 Plus de .lx.m., par lou mien escient.
 De .xxx. chevaliers n'en ai mais nul vivant,
 Et je suis si navrés con il est aparent.
- 145 Si com l'amirant jure Mahon et Tervagant
 Nerbone cuide avoir ans l'outre jor passant."
 "Vasal, dist Aymeris, ne nos esmoiés tant!
 Li amirans se vente de folie grant.
 Ans qu'il preigne Nerbone i cuit ge faire tant
- 150 Qui n'i aura mestier li peres son anfant."

The first one hundred and fifty lines of the *Siège* suffice to show a poet accustomed to the manner of the *chansons de geste*, and who, further, seems thorolly at home in the cycle of Guillaume. He evidently knows the legend which attaches Aymeri to Narbonne, the

132 The seven-syllable short line should not end with an accented syllable, hence *detint* is an error. One could substitute *redresce*.

150 Ms. 24369 has the correct reading: *Que*.

"département" of his sons, of whom Guibelin is the youngest, the acquisition of Orange by Guillaume and, as we may infer from lines 85 and 140, that of Gascony by Bovon. If in lines 105-109 he shows no more than ordinary acquaintance with a group of lay-figures, we shall soon see that he possessed some very ancient information concerning more important heroes. In this latter regard, the poet seems not to have been unlike the author of *Foucon*, with whom he has a stylistic resemblance. That he was a fair poet is shown by such lines as 75 and 135. As for the action, it will be noticed that, as in the *Willame*, a messenger brings news of the Saracen invasion.

In the thirty-one lines which follow the above passage and which lead up to the one cited below, the action moves rapidly. The Amirant draws near with his army, and gives the order to attack. He tells his men not to kill Aymeri if they find him, but to capture him alive, so that he may be tried and condemned. Description of the arming and entrance into battle of the three hundred French knights. The brief passage which now follows is a sample of our poet's battle descriptions, in which sound is frequently mentioned (see lines 155-158, and compare the extreme of silence in lines 154-155 and 160). The word *estre* as used in line 157 is much liked by the poet. It occurs three times in this sense in the *Willame*.

- Li hardis vait son chief sor son hame baissant,
 Et pour lou mialz ferir vait sa lance baissant.
 Au coart vait li cuers soz l'aisselle faillant.
 A l'abaissier des lances sont si mu et taissant
 155 Que il n'i out ne hui ne boisine sonant.
 Plus de .lx. espiés i froissent maintenant,
 Estre lou bruit des lances dont il li avoit tant
 Et les cos des espees dont il vont chaploiant.
 Amont parmi ces hiaumes vont les grans cos donant.
 160 Li mort sont acoisié, li vif vont trebuchant.
 La poissiés veoir tant, bon dstrier corant,
 Les arçons descopés, le renes traïnant.

Aymeri's little band cannot repel the attack and are forced to

151 This passage is on fol. 111 r° a.

163 This passage is on fol. 111 r° b.

flee toward the bridge that leads to the city. Hermenjart hurries from the tent, and, as she runs, carries the train of her dress in her arms. At the bridge she is seized by some Nubians, who drag her away a prisoner. She screams for help, and calls on Aymeri and Guillaume.

- Aymeris de Nerbone entendi sa moillier.
 A haute vois escrie: "Tornés vos, chevalier!
 165 Se ge ma moiller pert, j'en aurai reprovier."
 A tant es vos Guillaume au cor neis, lou ligier,
 Boves de Conmarcis desor .j. vert destrier,
 Et Poinson et Beraut, Guaidon et Berangier,
 Et Jofroi l'angevin et Forque lou ligier,
 170 Hugue de Bargueline et lou conte Angelier,
 Savari de Tolose et lou conte Richier.
 Bien furent .iij.c. François a l'estor commencier.
 Trestuit en vont ansamble por paiens destranchier.
 Ce jor i veissiés tantes lances brisier.
 175 Et nos gentis François sor Sarasins aidier,
 A destre et a senestre aus brans les rens cerchier,
 Amont parmi ces hiames ferir et chaploier,
 Ces chiés et ces viaires laidir et destranchier.
 Se il fussent ensamble .iiij.c. charpentier
 180 Que trestuit charpentassent por chastel redrecier,
 Ne feissent il mie tel noise et tel tenpier,
 Con font nostre François por lor honte vengier.
 Apres les .iiij.c. poïst on charroier,
 A Hermenjart rescorre.
- 185 Li .iij.c. François brochent a coite d'esperon.
 Dex! con bruient avent cil cendal et panon,
 Et les riches ansaignes de vermail ciglaton!
 Aymeris escria: "Monjoie la Karlon!",
 Et Savaris, "Tolose!", et Gautiers, "Teragon!",
- 190 Li dus Jofroi, "Valance!" fierement a haut on,
 Hunalt crie "Malo!", c'est l'ansaigne au Breton,
 Gerart et Guielins, "Conmarcis la Bovon!",
 Et li autre, "Nerbone!" tuit ansamble a haut on.

188 The scribe wrote here Klm, with sign of abbreviation above. He of course meant Karlon.

Enmi la grignor presse de la geste Mahon,

- 195 Recovrent Hermenjart, ou il veullent ou non.
 Guillaumes salt a terre do destrier an sablon,
 Et saissit la contesse au pan do siglaton. (v^a)
 A tant es vos poignant Berangier et Sanson.
 Chascons moine .j. destrier c'ot pris d'un Esclavon.
- 200 " Seignor, ce dist Guillaumes, entendés ma raisson.
 Menés an la contesse a Nerbone ou donjon.
 Tos est mors et honis qui feme a au besong.
 Je remenrai ici a la gent Pharaon.
 Au branc forbi d'acier lor movrai tel tençon
- 205 Cui j'ataindrai a cop n'aura ja guarisson!"
 Et cil ont respondu: " A Deu beneïçon!"
 La contesse monterent sor .j. liart gascon.
 De ci dec' a Nerbone n'i font arrestisson.
 La contesse descendent sor .j. mabrin perron,
- 210 Puis repairent aier a coite d'esperon.
 Ancor estoit Guillaumes a pié enz el sablon.
 De toute pars li vienent li Sarrasin felon.
 Plus de .lx. espiés lancierent au baron.
 Ans ne porent desronpre son hauberc fremillon.
- 215 Son cheval li ocient.
- Guillaumes fut a pié desoz Nerbone es pres.
 Son cheval li ont mort, si en fut molt irés.
 Il a traite l'espee dont li pons fut letrés.
 Cui il ataint a cop tout son tens est finés.
- 220 Aymeris de Nerbone s'est en halt escriés:
 " Que faites, chevalier? Guardés ne demorés!
 Guillaumes est a pié! Do secore pansés!
 Sainte Marie, dame, nostre fil reclamés!
 Dame, que il n'i soit ne mors ne afolés!
- 225 Roïne, se lui pert, tous suis deserités!"
 Ansument con li falz qui est des poinz volez

190 Occasionally as here the scribe omits an initial consonant, when the preceding word ended in that consonant.

202, 203 Cf. *Willame*, 581-583.

226-28 MS. 24369 reads: Aussi com le faucon qui est des pions volez De ferir ens aloës quant est entalentez, Se fieri li quens entr' euls, ne s'est asseürez.

De ferir as aloës cant est entalantés,
 Se fiert li cuens antr' ax, ne s'est asseürés.
 Et après point Gerart sor Ferrant pomelés.

- 230 Vait ferir Aquilant, .j. roi de Balegués,
 An l'escut de son col qui frais est et troés,
 Lou hauberc de son dos desrout et descercelé,
 Si que parmi lou cors li est li brans passés.
 Tant con hante li dure l'a abatu es prez,
 235 Que par terre se jut li vers hiames gemez
 Et sanglans en remeist li blans haubers saffrés.
 Il a pris lou cheval si s'en est restornés,
 Et a dit a Guillaume: "Sire honcle, car montés!"
 Et Guillaumes i monte, qui ne fut esgarés.

(b)

- 240 Adont fut li estors, la bataille es pres.
 Mais li cuens Aymeris s'est trop abandonés.
 Se cil sires n'en panse cui Dex est apelés,
 Ancui iert tex treüs aus paiens demorés
 Que jamais par nul home ne sera restorés
 245 S'an aura eü poine.

- Guillaume ont remonté, mais chier i fut vendus.
 Plus de .xx. Sarrasin i ont les chiés perdus.
 Corsolt de Tabarie vint au rens irascus.
 A .ij. de nos François i a les chiés tolus.
 250 S'ansin s'an puet aler, bien est ses los creüs.
 Plus iert antre paiens et doutés et cremus.
 Do conte Guielin fut primes parceüs.
 Li cuens l'a si ferut de l'espié qu'est molus
 En l'escut de son col qu'il est frais et fandus.
 255 Ses haubers ne li valt une pesse de glus,
 Si que parmi lou cors li fut l'espiés cosus.
 Il ne l'a mie mors, mais il a bien ferus,
 Que par terre se geist atout son hame agus.
 Et Guillaumes d'Orengé, qui Dex croisse vertus,
 260 Tint l'espee o poing destre dont li brans fut fondus.

237 The verb is *trestorner*; the initial *t* was omitted because of the final *t* of *est*.

255 Instead of *pesse*, MS. 24369 has *piece*.

257 In *il a bien ferus*, the *l* does double duty: *il l'a bien f.*

Cui il consuit a cop tos est a mort ferus.
 Mais tant fut aus paiens force et pooir creüs
 Qu'illoc fut Guielin et Gerart retenus.
 Desoz Bovon fut mors ses chevaux qui ert cremus.

- 265 Aymeris s'escria, ne se tint mie mus:
 "Nerbone! Dex, aïe! mes filz Bove est chaüs!
 Anbedous mes nevos voi a terre abatus.
 Damedieu, sire peres, car i faite vertus,
 Que nus des .iiij. n'i soit ne mors ne confondus!"
 270 Ansumant con li falz est es oxiaus menus,
 Se fiert li cuens antr' ax, ne fut mie esperdus.
 N'i avoit nul des contes ne fust bien secorus,
 Cant l'amirant i vint, qui out molt grant vertus.
 Son maistre dragon porte, par ce fut coneüs.

- 275 El chief de nos François s'est li rois arrestus.
 Et l'amustant de Cordes est par .j. val venus.
 A .xx.m. Sarrasins est poignant acorut.
 Lors derangent ansamble, molt par fut grans li hus.
 Illoc fut Guielins et Gerart abatus,
 280 Boves de Conmarcis a l'amirant rendus.

Et Aymeris s'antorne.

(fol. 112 ^{ra})

- La ou Sarrasin pridrent Bovon de Conmarcis,
 Illoc fut retenus Gerart et Guielins,
 Savaris de Tolose et Richiers li floris
 285 Et Hunalt de Bretagne et Jofroi l'Angevins,
 Renalt de Montamier, li proz et li gentis,
 Et Poinson et Beraut et Guaidons et Geris,
 Et avoc .c. des autres danziaus de son païs.
 Et Aymeris s'antorne, corçoüs et maris:
 290 De .xx. contes qu'il ot n'an sont remeis que .x.
 De .cc. chevaliers chascons est si laidis
 Que tous sont destranchié les escus d'azur bis
 Et frais et enbarrés les hiames poitevins.
 Aymeris va daieres con home de halt pris.
 295 Daiers an dos l'anchaucent .x.m. Amoravis.

264 Cremus: error for crenus.

270, 271 MS. 24369 reads: Ensement com li faus fiert es oisiaus menus, Se fiert li quens entr'euls, ne fu mie esperdus.

- Dame Hermenjart s'escrie, aus murs d'araine bis,
 A sa vois haute et clere s'escria a haut cris :
 " Ha! Guillaumes d'Orenges, que faites vos, beau filz ?
 Car secorés vos pere, ja l'aurent Turc ocis !
 300 Ahi ! con estes loing, Aÿmers li chaitis,
 Guibers en dolce France au fort roi Locis !
 Se ge mes filz i pert et mes sire i est pris,
 Que devenrai ge, lasse ! "

- Aymeris entendî sa moillier an la tor.
 305 A haute voiz escrie del mur encienor :
 " Tornés, cuens Aymeris, por Deu lou criator !
 Cant besoigne sera, si pensés do restor ! "
 Aymeris l'antendi s'an ot au cuer baudor.
 Ses conpaignons apelle si lor dist par amor :
 310 " J'ai oïe Hermenjart a la fresche color.
 Bien i devons joster une fois por s'amor ! "
 Lors derangent ensamble li gentil poigneor.
 Atant es vos Guillaume poignant a l'oriflor.
 Chascons abat lou suen envers sans nul restor.
 315 S'or eüst Aymeris lou lignage francor,
 Ja i perdissent li païen et li lor,
 Cant l'amirant i vint qui molt ot de valor,
 Et l'amustant de Cordres par .j. val tenebror,
 A .xx.m. chevaliers qui vers Deu n'ont amor.
 320 Aymeris s'antorna, qui n'ot point de sejour,
 Et a trepassé Aude lou pont major.
 Par la porte aïere reconmence l'estor.
 Cil de dedens ovrirent la porte lor seïgnor,
 Aymeris li hardis, que ge ne sai mellor, (b)
 325 Et cil qui est entrés qui out au cuer dolor,
 Et an après des autres qui molt ont de valor.
 Païen et Sarrasin s'aünent tout antor,
 Et François se retraient aus murs encienor.
 Traient abolestiers et archier tout antor
 330 Por Nerbone defandre.

As pres desoz Nerbone sont Sarrasin logiez.
 Qui dont veïst François a ces murs apoiez,
 Pour lors cors a defandre richement atiriez !
 Pierres getent aval et grans pex aguissiez.

- 335 Molt ont de Sarrasins navrés et ploïés,
Et l'amirant conmente que li murs soit brisie.
Aymeris de Nerbone, li gentis cuens prisiez,
Est montés el palais si s'est deschaubergie.
Lou hauberc c'ot vestut lait cheoir a ses piés.
- 340 Ou qu'il voit la contese ancontre s'est dreciés.
Prumerain l'apela par molt grant amistiés :
" Ahi ! gentis contesse, et car me consailliez !
Ceste cité randroie, se vos me lassiez.
Se ge mes filz i pert, jamais ne serai liez,
345 Et mes riches nevos que m'a tolut pechiez."
Cant l'antent la contesse, près n'a lo sanc changié.
Ja dira teil parole qui pas ne sera liez :
" Ahi ! Aymeris, sire, trop tost vos esmoiez !
On soloit jadis dire Aymeris iert prisies.
- 350 Se vos ensin lou faites que la cité laissiez,
Lors dira l'amperere qu'estes afoibloiez.
Alés vos en en France, la cité me laissiez !
Ancor ai .iij.c. dames, bien voil que lou sachiez,
Toutes .iij.c. sont filles a chevaliers proisiez.
- 355 Sodoiers an leu d'eles por niënt queriez.
An leu de .ij. coars chevaliers me laissiez.
Bien maintenrai la terre, se vo la m'otriez.
Sovent iert li estors au murs reconmenciez,
Mainte piere getee et maint espiés lanciez,
- 360 Mainte targe troée, maint hauberc demailliez.
Certes ans m'entereroient Sarrasin par les piez
Que ge la cités rande ces cuivers renoiez,
Tant con ge puisse vivre ! "
- Quant Aymeris entent Hermenjart, sa moillier,
- 365 Il est passés avent si la cort embracier, (v^a)
Puis l'a araissonée a loi de bon guerrier :
" Ahi, gentis contesse, con faites a prisier !

354, 355 Cf. *Willame*, 2447 ss. and *Aliscans*, 1947 ss.

361 The scribe is attempting to use the verb *traire*. MS. 24369 has *m'entraioient*.

364 The Ms. reads *Auant*. The A is an illuminated letter in blue, and was evidently made by a different scribe, as was often the case. By mistake, he wrote A instead of Q.

- Honques mellor de vos ne baissa chevalier!
 Certes ans me lairoie tous les manbres tranchier
 370 Que je la cité rende por ma gent mehaignier,
 Se vos et mes barnaiges voliez otrier."
 Li amirant se fait soz Nerbone logier.
 Illoc ot .j. anclos dont bel sont li vergier.
 La font lou pavillon a l'amirant drecier.
 375 En la tente vermaille se fait li rois colchier.
 Ses prisons demenda, ne li firent targier.
 Atant es vos Bovon qui molt fist a prisier,
 Gerart et Guielin es bliaut de cartier.
 Li amirant les vit ses prent a laidangier.
 380 Cil se sont en l'estor deduit con chevalier.
 Molt lor vit de lor armes nos homes domagier.
 Boves de Conmarcis an apela prumier:
 "Diva! comment as non? tu no me dois noier."
 Et Boves respondoit, qui molt fist a prisier:
- 385 "L'an m'apelle Bovon, ja nel vos quier noier.
 Filz suis a Aymeri, qui lou corage ait fier.
 Cil dui sont mi enfent, n'i a que corociet."
 Cant l'amirant l'antent n'i ot qu'eleescier:
 "Mahon et Apolin, toi puis ge gacier!"
- 390 Mahon ferai a Mesques grant present envoyer.
 Corsolt de Tabarie, toi pri que ne targier.
 Alés an son cest pui, faites forches drecier.
 Lou lignage Aymeri volrai hui abaissier.
 Jamais ne mengerai tant con soient antier!"
- 395 Et cant Boves l'antent n'i ot que corociet.
 "Sarrasins, ce dist Boves, n'ies pas bien consailliez.
 N'est ancor Aymeris sain et sauf et entier?
 Ancor a li frans cuens .vij. filz de sa moillier.
 En nulle terre au sicle ne sai tel chevalier.
- 400 Mielz vos valroit vos dois de vos paumes tranchier
 Que m'eüussiés pandut ne do cors domagié,

381 It seems likely that *ses* is the proper reading, instead of *nos*.

382 The MS. has *Conmarchis*, with expunctuated *h*.

388 The scribe wrote: *que leescier*.

389 The scribe omitted an *r* in *gracier*.

397 Cf. *Raoul de Cambrai*, 1847.

Tant con puissent lor armes ne lor adors baillier,
Car molt sont no parent fort et orguillox et fier,
S'anforce nos lignage!"

- 405 L'amirant ot lou conte qui contre lui contant.
De maltalant tresue, honte en ot por sa gent.
Li rois tint en sa main .j. bastoncel d'argent. (b)
Ja en ferist Bovon sans autre parlement,
Cant l'amistant de Cordres de cest cop lo defent.
- 410 "Tais, fox! ce dist li rois, tu as fol esciânt!
Cuidés por tes menaces en laissasse niënt,
Que ne te face pandre et ancroër au vent?"
"Sarrasins, dist li cuens, Dex te doint maltorment!
Con tiens or lou lignage conte Aymeri a lant,
- 415 Et lou riche secors que li bons cuens atent!
Ans que soie pandus ne ancroés au vent,
Certes vos cuit ge faire si orible et pesant
N'i volroit li mioldre estre por lor debonivant."
Cant l'antent l'amirant de maltalant esprent.
- 420 Bovon prist au bliaut si que tout lou porfant.
Adont i sont venu celle paiene gent.
Gerart et Guielin ont saissit maintenant,
Et les autres paien mainte communement.
Se dus Bove ot paor, ne m'en mervail noient,
- 425 Cant Sarrasin lou tindrent.
- Boves fut en estant entre paiens felons.
Li amirant s'escrie: "Prenés moi ces glotons!
Ancui les ferai pendre an son cest pui roont!"
"Sire, dist l'amustant, si vos plaist, nos ferons.
- 430 Dans Aymeris li cuens est de tels iroisons
S'il tenoit .j. des noz n'en prendroit reançons.
Corsolt de Tabarie lou reconmenderons,
Si lou moint en Barbastre en vos maistre maison.
Ens o fonz de la chartre metra l'an ces glotons.
- 435 Illoc les nos gart bien tant que nos i aillons.
A feste saint Jehan nos Dex aorerons.

402 The word *adors* is doubtful in the MS. M. Jean Vic has had the kindness to examine the word. He does not think *adors* correct. He considers the third letter to be undecipherable, and reads *es* for the last two letters. MS. 24369 has: Tant com puist porter armes ne monter sus destrier.

Mahon et Apolin el palais porterons.
 A vos fil, Libanor, ma fille donerons,
 Malatrie la belle, a la clere façons.

- 440 L'autrier conquist rois Karles la tor aus Esclavons.
 Nos conquerromes France, a ous la laisserons,
 Normendie et lou Moine, Angevins et Bretons,
 Chanpaigne et Loheraine et la terre au Bretons,
 Et toute la terre par dedeça les mons.
- 445 Au pui de Mon Loon coroner les ferons."
 "Sire, dist l'amirant, molt est riches cist dons.
 Grant mercis vos en rent, aorés soit Mahons!
 Faiz iert lou mariages."

In these lines occur several passages which again bear witness to the poet's fondness for rapid movement, sound, and all that relates thereto: see lines 179-187. The carpenters of these lines are certainly equal to the woodsmen of Hugo's *Mariage de Roland*: 99-101.¹ The poet twice makes use of his favorite imagery, drawn from the life of falcons. The advice given Aymeri in lines 304-307 recalls lines 619-627 of *Aliscans* and 22-36 of the *Chevalerie Vivien*. The passage where Aymeri tests Hermengart by proposing to give up Narbonne (340-371) is to be compared in all of its details with *Willame*, 1012-1033, 2445-2455; cf. also *Aliscans*, 1946-1965. The story continues as follows: The Amirant gives the prisoner into the hands of Corsolt and a guard, with orders to

440 No definite tower or fortress seems to be indicated by this line. Instead of tor, MS. 24369 reads terre.

443 This line is visibly corrupt.

¹ Much remains to be done on the MSS. of Hugo, preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The MS. of the *Mariage de Roland* is especially interesting. The text as first written for lines 99-101 was as follows:

L'épée est un marteau, l'armure est une enclume;
 Le voyageur se hâte et croit voir dans la brume
 D'effrayants forgerons qui travaillent la nuit.

The lines 179-187 are to be compared with the following passage from *Gautier d'Aupais*, 10-13 (edited by E. Faral, *Classiques Français du Moyen Age*, Champion, Paris, 1919):

Se troi cent manouvrier fesoient un palais
 Et il estoient tuit de bien ouvrer entais,
 Ne menroient tel noise, ne tel cri, ne tel brais
 Comme il font sus les elmes des branz qui sont nus trais.

take them to Barbastre and put them in prison. Corsolt is then to go to Cordes and inform Malatrie that the Amirant has given her in marriage to Libanor. Corsolt is to conduct her to her father. The voyage is made in a ship. The expedition arrives at Barbastre. At this point the poet tries to arouse interest in his story by saying:

Or commence chançon mervailloxe, anforcie,
450 Ansin con Aymeris recovra sa maisnie,
Et Looeis li rois out la terre voidie.
Dusc' au perron saint Jaque fut la terre essillie,
Ans qu'il rentrast en France.

The prisoners are put into a dungeon inhabited by a terrible serpent, which attacks them. Beuve fights back with a piece of rock and a club, but nothing seems to injure the serpent. Under these distressing circumstances, Beuve thinks of his wife, Heilissant (cf. the *Narbonnais*). Fortunately for the French prisoners, the chamberlain is Clarion de Valdune, nephew of the Amirant, "et de sa seror né," who has been robbed of his inheritance and humiliated: one half of Barbastre was to have been his; he is forbidden to go farther than one league from the city. In the night he meditates on the injustice done him, thinks of the prisoners and goes to visit Beuve, carrying with him a lighted taper. Beuve sees the light, and exclaims:

"Con ceste nuit est corte! Vialt il ja esclairier?
455 Sarrasin nos volront de la chartre gitier
Por nos cors a destruire et battre et laidangier.
Comment que de moi preigne, je ferai lo premier,
Que mires ne autrui ne li aura mestier!"

Clarion takes offence at these words, but Beuve maintains his courageous attitude. They end by coming to an agreement: Beuve swears by Saint Pol d'Apolice to restore to Clarion his inheritance. In return, Clarion equips him with arms. Beuve brandishes a lance and hurls himself on the serpent, but without being able to do him

451 This passage is found on fol. 113 r° b.

454 Cf. the exclamation of Huon de Bordeaux when Esclarmonde visits him similarly: Sainte Marie! est il ore ajorné? (*Huon*, 5846). This passage is found on fol. 114 r° a.

any injury. The serpent then turns on him to dévour him. Beuve plunges his lance into his throat and kills him.

As they are leaving the dungeon, the jailer (*chatremier*) awakens and attacks Beuve, who slays him. Clarion goes to liberate the other prisoners from a tower. As he enters, Savari was exclaiming:

- "Jamais ne revairons nos riche parentés,
 460 Aymeri de Nerbone, Guibert lou bachelier,
 Ne Guarin d'Anseüne, ne Hernalt lou sané,
 Ne Bernart de Brubant, ce estoit li ansnés!"
 Clarions lor a dit: "Car vos reconfortés!
 Que faites vos, François? Por coi vos arrestés?
 465 Ja vos mande dus Boves que vos lou secorés.
 Je ai lui et ses filz de la prison getés."
 "Vasal, dist Savaris, por coi nos degabés?
 Car pleüst or a Deu, lo roi de majestés,
 Que ge fusse lajus les Bovon a cotés,
 470 Et tenisse en mon poing mon branc d'acier letré!
 Ans i ferroie tant lou bras auroie anflé,
 Ansois que par paiens i fusse anprisonés!"

Clarion gives some of them arms, others possess themselves of those belonging to the jailer. The Amoravi, however, has been awakened by the noise. Search is made for the marauders, they are discovered, and the Amoravi menaces them with death. Sword in hand, he attacks Beuve, who kills him. *Mêlée*. Corsolt escapes from the palace, and gives the alarm. Clarion tells the Frenchmen of the great age of the tower in which they are besieged:

- Rois Julius Cesaires la fist par amistés.
 Tous li pires carrel est a cissel ovrés,
 475 A metal ou a plom bien assis et fondés.

The attack on the tower begins "endroit ore de prime," and proves unsuccessful. The defenders throw down on the assailants the bodies of the Saracens they have killed. The attack at last ceases. Beuve makes a *sortie* with eighty armed men. They bring

459 This passage is found on fol. 114 v° a.

in a hundred prisoners, men of importance, whom Clarion reminds of their injustice toward him. Among the Christians is a chaplain, who baptizes the prisoners. Clarion sets them an example by being baptized first:

Trois fois i est plongié volantièrs et de gré,
 Et li autre paien, n'en i est .j. remeis.
 Li un an sont por Deu baptisié et levé,
 Que mialz aiment la loi que la premiere assés.
 480 Li autre si lou firent anviz, c'est verités,
 Mais tant fort redoutoient Bovon et son barné.

Clarion suggests that it will be well to search the palace. Not many Saracens are discovered, but twenty are captured who are said to be black: "n'ont que blans les dens."¹ These prisoners are brought before Beuve, who later gives them their choice between baptism and death. They choose the former. Clarion conducts the French knights to the *mahomerie*, which is described as follows:

Molt iert belle la chanbre, noble, de grant richor.
 Soz ciel n'a home qui ans veïst meillor.
 Li oisel i sont point si con volant lou jor,
 485 Ansin con li plus grant fait guerre lou menor,
 Et les bestes sont pointes an halt en l'autre tor,
 Ansin con paise l'erbe la nuit a la froidor.
 Les pieres qui assisses sont an l'orle major
 N'esligeroient mie dui riche anpereör.
 490 Leans iert Mahomés asis en .j. destor,
 A tous les .ij. paiens a mervaillose honor,
 Qui tant servent et aiment Mahon a grant honor.
 Et Mahons est entr' ox en l'estage major,
 Sor .j. faudesteul d'or, honques ne vi grignor.
 495 Les pieres qui i erent do tresor l'aumaçor,
 Nes eligast por voir ne roi n'enpereör.

¹ One could cite a number of passages which offer this picturesque detail; cf. *Conquête de Jérusalem*, published by Hippeau, where it is said of the warriors of Bocidant (lines 7511, 7512):

Plus sont noir c'arremens (a malfés les commant!)
 Et n'ont de blanc sor aus mais que l'oïl et la dent.

476 This passage is found on fol. 115 v° a.

482 This passage is found on fol. 116 r° b.

Et Mahons se sist sus con hons de grant fieror.
 .XX. cierges i ardoient, qui getent grant luor
 Par trestoute la chanbre.

- 500 Richement fut assisse l'image de Mahon. (fol. 116 v^oa)
 Sor .j. faudesteul d'or, si riche ne vit on.
 Tuit li dui Sarrasin li erent environ,
 De fin or tout marsis do chief dec' au talon.
 Bien vos sai aconter .j. poi de sa façon.
 505 .X. piés out bien de grant, que de fi lou seit on.
 .I. pié antre dous iolz, la barbe noire an son.
 Larges ert par espaule et gros par lou crepon.
 L'anforcheüre ot longe, bien resamble Breton.
 Et François lo regardent, ne dient o ne non.

It is proposed by Clarion that they break to pieces the statue of Mohammed. No sooner said than done. The precious stones will be presented to Beuve. They discover Ferrant, the horse of Gerart, which the enemy had been glad to keep.

Corsolt escapes from Barbastre to carry the news to the Amirant. Here a brief passage is cited for the sake of the geographical names:

- 510 Corsolt de Tabarie est de Barbastre enblés
 Sor .j. blanc dromadaire qui n'estoit pas lassés.
 Passe Rune et Serine, les pors de Balegués,
 Et costoit Leride et Cordres de delés,
 Et est venus a Aude, dont parfont est li gués.

- 515 Ja dira sa novelle.

Corsolt announces the loss of Barbastre and the betrayal of Clarion. The Amirant expresses his opinion of Beuve, whom he calls *puinart*. The Amustant, who is present, advises him to abandon the siege of Narbonne and attack Barbastre. The two chieftains embark. Hermenjart, who has arisen early and gone to look

508 Ms. 24369 has *bricon*.

510 This passage begins on fol. 117 r^o a.

512 According to A. Thomas, Runa is a name for the Arga, which flows by Pampelune: voir Fita and Vinson, *Codex de St-Jean de Compostelle*, p. 8, and *Romania*, XI, p. 499, note 4. Serine is perhaps the Serinde of the Roland.

down from the walls of the city, sees them. Her only thought is that they are carrying away her son, Beuve, for she of course does not know that he had been sent to Barbastre. The Saracen army casts anchor in the port of Barancon, whence it starts for Barbastre. At the moment when it is drawing near to the city, Beuve and a group of his men have gone outside the walls and are looking at the broad waters of the Sore, the plowed fields, the vineyards and the meadows. Beuve is raptured, and says to Gerart:

- " Molt est ceste cités menant et asazee,
Et qui or si l'auroit lealment conquessee
Par lui seroit ancor Espagne delivree."
Et regarda aval lou fons d'une vatee,
520 Voit venir Sarrasins et lor compaignie armee,
Qui ans ainz, qui miolz miolz, tout a une aünee.
Dex! tante riche ansaigne i ot lo jor mostree,
Et tant cheval inel qui out selle doree!
Gerart son fil apelle, si li dist sans celee:
525 " Veez ici, beaus filz, molt tres male aünee.
Ce n'est pas Looys ne gent de ma contreee."
" Non, voir, ce dist Gerart, ens est gent defaece.
Bien conois cest dragon a la gole bace!
Il estoit soz Nerbone cant fui pris en la preee.
530 C'est li amirant et grant ost assamblee!"
" Voire voir, ce dist Boves, mar fust elle honques nee!
Que diable lor ont la nouvelle contee
Ensin tost a Nerbone?"

Beuve gives the order to return to the city without fighting: his plan is to send for aid to his brothers and Louis. But the temptation is too great for the young and eager Gerart. He rides to attack the enemy, and is joined by five hundred of his countrymen. The Saracens yield, but, reinforced, turn about and pursue the French, who have started back to the city. The *mêlée* centers for a while around Guiein, who is rescued by Gerart. The two brothers are soon separated. A band of Nubians throws itself on Gerart,

516 This passage is found on fol. 117 v° a.
526, 529 The error in the last words of these lines was due to the hasty abbreviation. Only a few lines previously, the scribe wrote pree.

who is knocked from his horse: "La force paist lou pré, li dus Gerart chaî." Fortunately, Clarion comes riding out of the city with reinforcements. The Saracens recognize the traitor to their cause, and receive orders to capture him, but Guielin, Beuve, Jofroi, Hunalt, Navari and the others join in the mêlée, and the enemy soon begins to retire. Gerart has by this time been rescued, and is again taking part in the battle.

A Turk "de Balesgués" recognizes Clarion and insults him. Duel, in which both men are unhorsed. The Turk is saved by his men, Clarion by Gerart. The Amirant now enters the battle, meets Beuve and each inquires the other's name. Duel. The Amirant falls to the earth stunned, but some of his men carry him away, while others surround Beuve, whose resistance would have been vain, were it not for the arrival of his sons and Clarion. Tableau: Guielin seizes the reins of his father's horse and leads it, while Gerart places himself behind him; in this way, they get him into the city.

The Saracen host blockades the city. The Amirant, who calls himself the lord of Spain, pitches his tent at the end of the bridge. Orders are given to bleed and shoe the horses. Images of Mahon, Tervagant, Apolin, Cahu and Jupiter are set up in the *mahomerie*. The Amustant sends messengers to his daughter, Malatrie, telling her to come with an army to Barbastre. They find her seated with her maids under a sycamore (*sicamor*). She inquires news of the siege of Narbonne, and learns that her people will probably never capture it. Relation of the events at Barbastre, of the heroism of Beuve, Gerart and Guielin. Malatrie hears with pleasure that the French are that sort of warriors, and begins to feel such an interest in Gerart that she is displeased when informed that her father intends to marry her to Libanor, the son of the Amirant.

But her father has ordered her to levy an army and come to Barbastre, which will bring her near the scene of great exploits. She obeys:

La pucelle se dresce o lou viaire cler.
Elle vit devant lui Galaciel ester.

535 N'ot que .iij. piés de lonc, mais si tost puet aler

533 This passage is found on fol. 120 r° a.

Plus coroit que lion, ne leupart ne sangler.
La belle Malatrie l'an prist a apeler.

She sends Galaciel to Loquiferne for the army. Her glance then falls on young Malaquin de Sulie, whom she orders to be armed a knight. Preparations for departure. Description of her ship:

- La nef a la pucelle firent aparailier.
Honques ne fut si riche, sou ai oï tesmoignier.
540 La barge au roi Judas n'i valsist .j. denier,
La Seguin de Bordelle et lou dromont Fochier,
Que elle out de lonc lou trait a .j. archier.
Chambres i ot ou l'an pot donoier,
Et la mahomerie et molins et vivier,
545 Lou four por lou pain cuire et lo vin ocelier.
.IIII. mals i ot hals por la voille drecier,
La ou li vens se fiert por lo mialz a nagier.
A l'un bort de la nef out .j. praelet chier.
Malatrie s'i vait sovent esbanoier,
550 Aus eschas et aus tables por son cors deporter. (fol. 120 v^a)
Cil qui sot de la nef sout molt de son mestier,
Par tel angin qu'elle ne pout plungier.
.IIII. chastés out fait por la nef esforcier.
A chascun des chastels out .xx. arbolestriers,
555 Et au bors tout antor furent li chevaliers.
Delés aus ont lor armes, qui molt sont a prisier,
Por lou dromont defandre, se il en ont mestier,
Qui tant par estoit riches.

Malatrie is accompanied by many beautiful ladies and noble knights. The ship arrives at Barbastre:

- Molt demoinent grant joie cant ont terre saisie
560 De tabors et de fibres i ot grant tabornie,
Et herpes et vielles, guiges et estrumie.
Estaives et flagex sonent par aramie.
Mais ansin con la rose cant elle est espanie

538 This passage is found on fol. 120 r^o b.

555 Thru error the word antor is repeated.

559 This passage is found on fol. 120 v^o a.

Est dejoste jenestre o dejoste l'ortrie,
 565 Ansin con elle est plus et belle et signorie
 Est desor ses pucelles plus belle Malatrie.

The Amirant welcomes Malatrie, and offers her Libanor, his son, as her husband. She finds a way to evade a reply. It is announced that this prince is going to arrive. He comes, and the Amustant presents him to his daughter:

"Fille, veez ci lo roi que vos aurois a per.
 Hainalt et Normendie averois a garder,
 Et la moitié d'Espagne vos ferai delivrer.
 570 A pui de Monloon vos ferai coroner,
 A saint Denis en France la corone porter."

She thanks her father. Libanor expresses his pleasure at the marriage. She says that she hopes to see him perform deeds of prowess under the walls of the city. He is indiscreet enough to boast of what he will do at dawn the next morning. Her father asks where she wants her tent placed, and she says:

"Beyond the bridge, where the water of the spring runs so gayly." Her father makes the objection that the French might molest her, but she suggests that he confide her to the guard of Libanor, who can establish his quarters near her tent. Description of the spring: the fortune of Desier would not suffice to pay for its value; two hundred knights could find room on its banks to sit down and eat. Description of the fountain and of the tent of Malatrie:

Le tref a la pucelle tandent les l'ovier,
 A ruit de la fontaine, par delés lou gravier.
 Honques en nulle terre ne vit nus hons plus chier,
 575 Ne mellor ne plus gent por son cors aaisier.
 Tant par est biaux et riches que lou pior quartier
 N'esligessiés vos mie por l'avoir Desier,
 Et tant iert grans et larges que .cc. chevalier
 I poissent antor aseoir au mengier.
 580 Icelui qui lou fist lou sot bien entaillier.
 Por noient queroit on el mont mellor ovrier,
 Que nus hons ne poroit son parail enginnier.

567 This passage is found on fol. 121 r° a.

572 This passage is found on fol. 121 r° b. The last word in this line is an error for olivier.

Desoz iert a gerons, desus iert a quartiers.
Sor la feste avoit .j. aigle d'or d'or mier,

- 585 Qui reluist et resplant con charbons en brassier.
Les cordes sont de soie, li paisson d'alier,
Qui retienent lou tref qu'il ne puet trebuchier.
Les ovres qui ens ierent font forment a prisier.
Toute l'ovre si estoit o d'argent ou d'or mier.
- 590 Plain sont de l'une part dames et chevalier,
Si con chascun velt miolz sa besogne exploitier.
D'autre part les pucelles et li franc escuier,
Qui desirent et veullent lor amis a baissier.
Sos ciel n'a home qui lou poist prisier,
- 595 La beauté, la richesce, ne lou tref eligier.
Sor .ij. cotes de paille, qui molt font a proisier, (fol. 121 v^oa)
Au chief li sont possé .ij. molt riche oraillier;
Malatrie la gente se vait dedens couchier.
Tuit sont de fine soie, tregité a or mier.
- 600 Que qui ait repossé, ans n'i pout somaillier,
Car trop panse a la joste Libanor lou guerrier.
Cant reposer n'i pot, prist li a enuier.
Au matin par son l'aube se fist aparaillier,
Et vesti an son dos .j. bliaut d'inde chier.
- 605 A son col afubla .j. mantel de cartier.
La pane en iert plus blanche que n'est flor d'esglantier.
Il n'estoit pas d'ermine, bien lo puis afichier,
Mais d'une beste estrange qui nest en son renier.
Desor son chief a mis .j. chapel d'olivier.
- 610 La grant beauté de li vos voil ge acointier.
Les chavox out luissans plus que né sor gravier;
Les iolz ot yairs et biaux plus que falcons muer;
La color de sa face passe flor d'aiglantier;
La bouchete espesete molt belle por baissier;
- 615 Et si l'out vermaillete por lo miolz entouchier;
Les mameletes dures con pomes de pomier;
La hanchete bassete, gente por manoier

584 The scribe wrote: dormier.

609 Ms. 24369 has aiglantier.

613 Ms. 24369 has rosier.

De plus gente pucelle n'oïstes ans plaidier,
S'elle creïst an Deu, qui tot a a jugier.

She intends to take an early morning ride. Description of the precious saddle, with its stirrups of gold. She mounts her mule and starts to ride along the bank of the Sore. She sees there Libanor, who is having himself dressed and armed. He asks her to wait for him, so that he may protect her. He orders his men not to come to his aid if he is attacked by as few as three enemies. The two ride away, he holding the reins of her mule. They cross the bridge, which seems to indicate that their tents were pitched on the farther side of the river from Barbastre, and dismount under an olive tree. Libanor sticks his lance into the earth, and lets his pennon fly in the breeze.

Gerart has arisen early. From the windows he hears the birds sing, sees the dew fall and the day dawn, and perceives the group under the olive tree and the silken flag. He slips noiselessly thru the room where Beuve lies asleep by the light of two burning tapers, hurries down and orders Ferrant to be saddled. He tells his men that he is going to ride around the walls of the city, and asks Gautier le Tolosant to open for him the *porte terrine*. Gautier at first refuses, for Beuve had given orders that no one was to go out of the fortress. Gerart threatens Gautier with his sword, and is allowed to go out:

620 Gerart ist de Barbastre sor lou cheval armé,
Mais il ne s'en va mie con vilains esgarés,
Mais les galos, molt richement conraez,
Les janbes portes droites, les piés amoncelés,
Et s'ot blons les chavox, menus recercelés,

625 Et les iolz vairs et gros conme falcons mués.
Cant lou vit Malatrie, a son dru l'a mostré:
"Or en voi .j. issir qui molt est biaux armés!
Tous sols s'en est issus, de bien faire aprivés.
Mahons! con il est biax, cortois et acsmés!

630 Con li siet cil haubers et cil hiaumes gemés!
Li escus a son col, com s'il li ert plantés!

620 This passage is found on fol. 122 r° b.

623 Ms. 24369 has: porte droites, les piez ot encavez.

- Ves quele enforcheüre, quel cors de bachelier!
 Con lie la pucelle de cui il iert privés!
 Jamais ne li seroit paradis desirrés.
 635 Por Mahon! quel destrier! con il vient abrivés!
 Con porte de sos lui ses piés amoncelés! (fol. 122 v^oa)
 C'est avis que il vole con oixias enpanés."

Libanor boasts that he will capture the young knight, and begs of Malatrie a kiss before leaving her. She promises it to him, and even a second one, if he returns a victor. Her gallant suitor laughs as he mounts his horse, and rides rapidly to meet Gerart. Each adversary inquires the other's name. Libanor urges Gerart to become a Mussulman, promising him a crown and his niece, the daughter of Rubion. Gerart refuses and insults the saracen deities. He invites Libanor to cease talking and ride forward, for he, Gerart, is going to win the fair maid and carry her off. Duel. Gerart ends by striking Libanor so violently that his surcingle breaks, and the rider falls and slips into the shallow water of the Sore. He does not dare to come to land. Gerart conducts himself generously in not trying to harm him further, seizes by the rein the beautiful horse of his rival, and rides toward Malatrie, whom he salutes politely, addressing her in *grigois*:

- "Cest cheval vos present, ou il n'a point de selle.
 C'est de par Libanor, l'amirant de Tudelle.
 640 Vez lou lai ou se baigne delés Sore la belle,
 Por lo chalt qui est grans do solail qui l'apresse.
 Car li alés aidier, s'il vos plaist, dameiselle!
 Sol est descendus, n'a vasal qui lou serve."
 "Trop vos poés prisier, vasal, dist la pucelle.
 645 Un des mellors d'Espaigne nos avés mis a terre.
 Car me dites vos non, chevalier debonaire,
 Que lou resache dire a l'amirant de Perse?"

Gerart accedes to her request, and dazzles her with the mention of some of the famous members of his family:

- Cant Malatrie l'ot, sel saissit par la rene.
 "Gerart, car m'enportés, frans hons de bone geste!
 650 Por la vostre amistié querrai lo roi celestre.

638 This passage is found on fol. 123 r^o a.

- Se me poés avoir laissus el plus halt estre, (fol. 123 *r^{ob}*)
 De .xxv. cités suis preste que vos serve.
 Aise et Aufrique aurois et trestoute la terre,
 Pise et Puille et Candie et lou mont de Pinelle,
 655 Et s'aurés en demoine les tors de Loquiferne.
 Riche corone d'or en aurés en vo teste."

This golden prospect and the beautiful princess are enough to decide Gerart, who accepts with joy, saying: "Qui vos i velt laisser il n'a droit en pucelle!" He helps her to mount her mule, and they ride off towards Barbastre, he leading by the rein the captured horse. The inevitable Saracens now appear, Corsolt in the vanguard. He comes upon Libanor, who tells him what Gerart is doing. Corsolt hurries off in pursuit.

Gautier le Tolosant looks down from the walls and sees the danger of him whom he calls his *signor*. He arouses Beuve. Everyone arms himself. The great door is opened, fortunately for Gerart, who is hard pressed by the enemy. Corsolt gives orders for his capture, and says that they will bury him up to the waist in manure in front of the fortress gate: "A vo teste traïront nostre mellor archier." Gerart asks Malatrie to lead the captured horse, turns back and fights with Corsolt, whom he unhorses. But in the mean time a thousand Saracens have rushed in between him and Malatrie. He is surrounded, and strikes right and left like a madman, crying: "Monjoie!" At this moment, his friends dash out of the door, uttering their war-cries. Mêlée, in which Gui and his brother Gerart perform prodigies. Beuve gathers his men about him and proposes that they return to the city: "Puisque ge ai Gerart, je ai bien tout trové." The Amirant and the Amustant are coming; the Saracens hustle the Christians back to the door:

Desi que a Barbastre ont après ous alé,
 En la porte s'an sont pelle et melle entré.

Gautier lets the portcullis fall, and three score or more of the enemy are caught and put to death. The Saracen chiefs ride away disappointed.

Beuve scolds Gerart for his disobedience, but becomes mollified when his son relates how he unhorsed Libanor and captured Mala-

trie and her mule. Beuve applauds his prowess and bids him bring forth the princess. When Gerart admits that the enemy recaptured her, his father gives way to his anger, but Gerart declares that no one in France, not even his father, could have done better, whereupon Beuve upbraids him:

"He glos! ce dist li dus, con tu es enplaidiés!

- 660 Ja fui ge a Conmarcis de paiens assigniés.
 .X. rois i out paiens dont ge fui assigniés.
 Je combati tos sols a .iiij. renoiés.
 Les .ij. getai tos mors, les .ij. menai liés.
 Des .ij. que ge pris ai fui ge si bien paiés,
 665 Que g'en ai de fin or .x. somiers tos chargiés.
 Tant en donai mes homes que chascun fut tos liés,
 Et si en sui plus d'aus servis et esauciés.
 Jes conquis par mes armes."

"Sire, ce dist Gerart, bien vos savés prisier.

- 670 Se vos vos combatites au branc forbi d'acier,
 Vos gens vos ierent pres plus de .iiij. milier,
 Et si aviez .iiij.c. abolestriers,
 Qui trestos se penoient de vos vie eloingnier.
 De trestoutes les pars traioient vostre archier.
 675 Se vostre gent veissent qu'en eüssiés mestier,
 Si vos eüssent tost secorut et aidé. (fol. 125 *r*^a)
 Vos n'i peüssiés perdre la monte d'un denier,
 Mais ge uissit tos sous, armé sor mon destrier.
 Mais c'est us et costume a villart chevalier
 680 Volent as jones homes et noter et tencier.
 Cant il voient bien faire .j. jone chevalier,
 Qui est pros et herdis en grant estor plenier,
 A poines en dit bien li villars chevalier:
 Ja ne voldroit li violz lou jone home essaucier.
 685 Tex se vente sovent qui ne valt .j. denier."
 Cant li dus l'antendi, lou sanc cuide changier.
 Garde, vit a la terre .j. baston de mellier.
 Au poins destre lou prist dus Bove lou guerrier.
 Volt en ferir Gerart parmi lou henapier,
 690 Cant des poins li osterent li baron chevalier.

659 This passage is found on fol. 124 v° b.

678 The t of uissit is probably due to the following t.

They lead Gerart away, and Guielin reproves him for having angered their father.

The story returns to the Saracen camp. The Amustant uses violent language to his daughter, who defends herself by relating how Libanor had conducted her to see the duel between him and a French knight. Libanor, she says, had left her to go and take a bath with his armor on; meanwhile his adversary had led her away a prisoner. In spite of herself, she would have been obliged to become a Christian. A fine marriage and a fine husband her father had proposed for her! The Amustant is angered, and has her conducted out. Her maids are with her, and would be glad to serve her. She feels the need of talking with someone to whom she can tell everything. She calls for Malaquin, a Saracen who had been *chanbelan*. They come to an understanding. On her promise to have his estates and inheritance restored to him, he agrees to go and invite Gerart to come and speak with her in secret, and to bring with him five of his friends, whom she names. Malaquin succeeds in crossing the Sore at a ford, and is finally admitted to Barbastre to deliver a message to Gerart. The messenger does as he had promised, and adds a perhaps needless description of the physical charms of Malatrie. Gerart withdraws a moment to consult Gui, who advises him to go to the rendezvous, but to conceal a hundred armed men in a nearby wood. Gui will be one of the hundred, and will send with his brother, in his stead, Renalt de Montamier: "Cil saura plus de moi por pucelle baissier." Gerart accepts, therefore, the rendezvous, and, in company with his five friends and the hundred men, slips noiselessly out of the city in order not to attract the attention of Beuve. They cross at the ford. The hundred men conceal themselves. It is night. Malatrie and her maids have left their tents. She sees in the darkness the gleam of the gemmed helmets and the shields set with gold. Malaquin points out to her Gerart:

Cant lo voit Malatrie li cuers li est levés.

Venue est a Gerart tot contreval les prés.

Desus ses garnemens l'acola molt soëf.

"Gerart, dist Malatrie, ami, car m'atendés!

695 Veez ci quanque j'ai vos est abandonnés.

691 This passage begins on fol. 126 v° a.

- Mon cors et mon avoir et canque j'ai, prenés!"
 "Belle, ce dist Gerart, certes bien dit avés!
 La nuis iert bien alee, ja iert jors ajornés.
 Montés divent moi, dame, bien tost, se volés!
 700 Chascons prendra la soë de saus que vos veez.
 S'or estoie en Barbastre o vos .v. restornés,
 La feroie, ma dame, toutes vos volantés."
 "Gerart, dist Malatrie, de folie parlés!
 Cuidiés m'en vos porter ansin con vos oés? (b)
 705 Comme feme robeë ja ne m'en porterés!
 Gerart, gentis et nobles, ne vos desesperés!
 La nuit est grant et longe, molt bien vos deportés.
 Enuit mais dec 'au jor o nos demorerés.
 Puis que vos m'avés, sire, nulle autre ne querés.
 710 Je suis fille de roi si ai grans iretés,
 Et ves ci mes pucelles qui molt ont de beautés.
 Chascune aura son dru, se vos ne m'en fausés,
 Lajus en cel vergier, joste cel breul ramés.
 Certes je lor promis desque fustes mandés.
 715 Sofrés que mes dis soit vers elles aquités."

What does Gerart do, except to yield? He does so with the rashness of youth:

- Gerart descendit jus do destrier auferrant,
 Et saissit la pucelle au gent cors avenant.
 Main a main s'en antrentent ou vergier verdoiant,
 Et li autre baron ne se vont atargent:
 720 An prist chascons la soë premerains en estant,
 Par lo vergier s'an vont andui esbanoiant,
 .II. et .ij. vont ensamble grant joie demenant.
 Gerart et Malatrie sont d'une part tornant.
 Sos .j. pin sont assis, estroit se vont baissant,
 725 Par lou jardin s'an vont endui entracollant.
 Malaquin de Viene qui lou cors out vaillant,
 Por les chevaus garder remest hors en estant,
 Et cil sont o vergier qui tout font lor talant
 D'acoler, de baissier, si com ge truis lisant.
 730 De terres alianes ne vont pas devissant.

730 This poetic line is to be compared with the more ordinary one of *Raoul*, 5678: "Il n'ont or cure d'autres bles gaaignier."

- Ne vos sauroie a dire en trestot mon vivant!
 Gerart sist o vergier qui lou cuer ot joiant,
 Joste lui Malatrie au gent cors avenant.
 Bel et cortoisement se vont entracointant.
- 735 "Damoixias debonaires, entendés mon sanblant!
 Car desarmés vos chief, s'il vos vient a talant,
 Car honques ne vos vi tot desarmé noiant."
 "Belle," ce dist Gerart, "tout a vostre conment!
 Conmander me poés con a vostre sergent."
- 740 Il osta son vert hame et la coife tenant.
 Malatrie l'esgarde bellement en riant, (fol. 127 *r^oa*)
 Et Gerart l'anbraça par les flans maintenant.
 Plus de .xx. fois la besse en .j. tenant,
 El menton, en la face, qu'elle avoit bel et gent.
- 745 Pour sou qu'elle est paiene va sa bouche eschivant.
 Tant deloie Gerars que pres fut d'ajornant.

The charming idyl is interrupted. The night-guard of the Saracens, with Corsolt in charge, is returning toward dawn, and rides thru the little wood where the hundred knights are in ambush. The Saracens perceive them with joy, and, as the poet says of them: "Il ulent et glatissent et moient grant revel." Gui and his men rush to attack them. Battle. Gui sounds his horn to encourage his troop. Gerart hears the horn, leaps to his feet and accuses Malatrie of having betrayed him. He and his five companions arm themselves and take leave of their "sweethearts," and ride away, guided by Malaquin. Without warning, they fall upon the enemy, crying: "Monjoie!" Corsolt thinks that ten thousand French are coming, and starts to return to camp and safety. He meets Malatrie and her maids, and undergoes the humiliation of her irony: "Cil cheval ou seez set molt bien lou sentier!" The Amirant, informed by Corsolt of what has happened, insults his gods in the usual manner, and then says:

- "Ja ne sont il leans en cel palais mabrin
 Que .c. chaitif de France, qui sont pauvre et frarin,
 Et .c. païen qui ont renoié Apolin.
- 750 Poor avés eü, Corsols, sire cosin,
 Ou vos avés songié ou parlé au devin."

A Saracen, terribly wounded, arrives and declares that Malatrie

does not care a *romoisin* for her father, and that she invited Gerart to come and see her. The Amirant asks his son Libanor to avenge his people and to bring in prisoner Gerart and Gui. All seize their arms.

Meanwhile the French knights begin to ride away toward the ford.¹ The Saracens push them hard. Gerart encourages his men:

- " Bien savés qu'Aymeris o lou grenon mellés
 Ne volt honques estre en chanbre enserrés,
 Mais an dure baitaille adès estre mellés.
 755 De ce est ses lignages tos jors an erités.
 Et Dex me laist tenir par la soë bontés
 A lignage lou conte qui bien est esprovés! "
- " Sire, ce a dit Guis, bien estes escolés!
 Certes, molt bons clers estes et molt bien enparlés!
 760 Se vos sermonés longes, tos nos convertirés.
 Ves ci les Sarrasins o les crestienés.
 Je lor donrai batesme au branc qui est letrés,
 Et vos a vostre espee lou cresseme lor donés."
 Lors derangent François comme falz enpenés.
 765 Ja eüssent paiens mors et debaretés,
 Cant li rois Libanors en est issus des tres.

The French are driven back, and many of them are killed, among others Renalt, Guinement and Fouqueré. Guielin laments the dead, and regrets that he has no messenger to send to his father. At this moment, says the poet, God performed a miracle: Beuve, who is asleep, has a vision; he is pursuing a wild-boar, when a lion appears and grabs him by his right arm. He awakens with such a start that the bed gives way, its *chevilles* having snapped. In response to his cries, the *chambrelains* hurry to him, and receive orders

¹ Three interesting lines occur here:

Et nos François s'an tornent et rengié et serré.
 Se eüssiés j. gant ancontremont getés,
 Ansois eüssiés une traitie alez.

The conclusion of the sentence is lacking in our MS. Cf. the famous passage of *Raoul de Cambrai*, 2412-14.

752 This passage is found on fol, 128 r° b.

752 The proper name in this line is abbreviated thus: Ay., and can be read Aymers or Aymeris. Because of *mellés*, the latter form has been adopted, tho the data given recall the legend concerning Aymer.

to summon his sons and his chaplain, Renier, "qui est de bon escient." He expects him to explain his dream. On learning that Gerart and Gui have gone secretly to see Malatrie, Beuve leaps out of bed, arms himself and winds his horn of ivory. He and his men leave the city. Libanor and the Saracens retire, pursued by the French, who slay many enemies.

Malatrie and ten of her maids come out of their tents in time to see pass the rout of the Saracens. Malaquin tells them the names of the victorious heroes, assures Malatrie that she shall have Gerart, the sister of the Amirant, Gui, the daughter of the Aupatri, Hunalt, the daughter of Solas, Savari, and the daughter of the Amargaris, Joffroi. Beuve comes riding rapidly. Malatrie makes a pretence of trying to return to the tents, but Beuve bars the way and inquires her name. He sends his rich captive under guard to the city.

The Amustant and the Amirant now enter the battle. Mêlée at the moats and gate. Many Saracens force their way into the city, but they are caught, for Gautier lets down the portcullis. Gui and Hunalt, however, have been left outside. Just as Gui is about to enter at the postern gate, he hears the reproach of Hunalt, who has been beaten from his horse:

"Que pora ore dire Aymeris a vis fier,
Et Hermengart, ma dame, qui tant fait a prisier?
Filz suis de sa seror; bien me devés aidier!"

Gui, of course, returns. He succeeds in saving his cousin, but is taken prisoner and brought before the Amirant. They take away his sword and remove his hauberk:

770 Guis remest sanglés el bliaut ciglaton.

Molt estoit bias et gens de cors et de façon.
La bouche out bien seant par desos lou menton.
L'amirant l'esgarde antor et environ,
Et dist aus Sarrasins: "Or esgardés, baron!"

775 Cil sanble do parage Aÿmer, lou felon,
C'on apelle chaitif en tante region."

767 This passage is found on fol. 129 r° b.

770 This passage is found on fol. 129 v° a.

The Amirant inquires his name. Gui does not conceal it, and profits by the occasion to mention all his uncles, except Aymer. The Amirant replies by saying that he will have him hanged, if Barbastre is not surrendered. Gui throws himself at his feet, begs that he wait until the morrow and suggests that he then have a great fire made before the walls of Barbastre in which to burn him, in case his father refuses to give up the city. The Amirant accedes to the request. The fire is built the next morning, and from the walls Beuve and some companions see and understand. Gerart and others slip out of the city by the *porte turcoise*, make a detour, dismount from their horses, and approach in a way to make the Saracens think them to be merchants. At the right moment, they mount and attack. Beuve and a band of the new converts rush out of the city and assist them. Gui is rescued, and the enemy retires. Malatrie is duly impressed with the courage of Gerart, who has saved his brother. Beuve decides that it is his duty to send to Louis and Aymeri for aid. The passages that follow are the most important in the *Siège de Barbastre*.

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(To be continued)

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VAIR AND RELATED WORDS: A STUDY IN SEMANTICS

THE Old French word *vair* first came to my attention several years ago in connection with Chaucer's translation of *Le Roman de la Rose*, where Ydelnesse is described as having

yēn greye as a faucon (Frag. A, 546).

Happening to know that falcons, and indeed all of the family *Falconidae*, have eyes within the ranges of red and yellow, mostly with decided chromatic effect wholly different from our idea of grey,¹ I became curious to know the origin of the expression and its history. We hear of a "Goshawk glance" in Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*; and Tennyson, in *The Princess*, describes the lady Psyche as:

A quick brunette, well moulded, falcon eyed (II, 91);

but in neither of these is there any suggestion of grey. Chaucer's French original reads:

Les yex ot plus vairs c'uns faucons.

¹ There is a movement on foot to correct our color terminology. One of the laws laid down in this scheme is that non-unitary colors should not have unitary names such as 'brown,' 'purple' and 'orange.' Mrs. Christine Ladd-Franklin, who is my authority, has kindly given me the following note summarized from her articles, "Color Terminology," "Color Theories," etc., in *The American Encycl. of Ophthalmology*, vol. iv, 1914, and from an address given before the Psychological Association, January, 1914:

"Just as we actually say blue-green and yellow-green for the chromatic blends of green with blue and yellow respectively, so we should, when speaking with precision, say the reddish-blues or the bluish-reds, the red-yellows or the yellow-reds, instead of purple and orange. Brown is a faint blackish-yellow or reddish-yellow. Grey, too, is, in spite of its name, not a unitary sensation, but a color blend, a black-white. For color proper (the chromatic sensations) one can say simply *chroma*. The Esquimaux, as it happens, not being led astray by unitarily named dye-stuffs but getting their chromatic sensations pure from sunsets and from autumn foliage have an absolutely correct color terminology. They distinguish between red-blue and blue-red (our erroneous purple), although that requires them to interchange the order of words of four and five syllables. When we say that a given chroma is orange, it is as if we said, "That tastes lemonadish to me," instead of, "That tastes to me at once sweet and acid."

What, then, does *vairs* mean? The assumption that it means what *we* mean by the word grey because Middle English writers translated it by that word might be justifiable if our texts harmonized with this meaning, but since they do not, the case surely indicates the desirability of an investigation.²

The word *vair* came into the French through the Folk-Latin, being the regular phonetic development from the classical *varium*. In classical Latin its first meaning is 'changing' or 'various,' and it is applied to colors, as in Horace's second satire:

Autumnus purpurea varius colore (4, 83).

Medieval Latin has the same use, as shown in Dante's first eclogue:

Herbarum vario florumque impicta,

and in two songs of the *Carmina Burana*:

Ornatur prato floribus
Varii coloris (53, p. 146).

Picto terre gremio
Vario colore (65, p. 155).

In the Old Provençal we have:

Es tan vayr que semla de totas colors
(*Eluc. de las props. de totas res naturals*, 254).

Modern Spanish has *vario color*, but modern French shows no trace of the folk-word in this meaning, which, since the early 16th century, has been expressed by the learned word *varié*. *Varius* in the sense of 'different' or 'various' occurs also in other connections, as

² In the present article I am making no pretence of having exhausted all possible resources. I have collected, I believe, about all of the material available in this country so far as the Old French is concerned. *La Chanson de Roland*, *Partenopeus de Blois*, *Le Roman de la Rose*, *Huon de Bordeaux*, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, all of the lays of Marie de France, about all that is available of Crestien de Troyes, over three thousand lyrics, many of the shorter fabliaux besides other miscellaneous matter I have read carefully, but the greater part of my citations I have gained by lining through unindexed works and consulting vocabularies where these were available. Some of my citations have been given me by interested friends. In one or two instances I have noted variants but with no pretence of editing, a work which I am not qualified to do, but rather to show the possibility of error resulting from inaccurate editing.

in *varia oratio*, in both classical and medieval Latin. Tasso has this expression in *Gerusalemme* (II, 58), and Petrarch in one of his sonnets speaks of *vario stile*.³ Dante has the verb in somewhat the same sense, if I understand the passage:

Quindi m'apparve il temperar di Giove
tra il padre e il figlio; e quivi mi fu chiaro
il variar che fanno di lor dove (Par. XXII, 145 ff.);

but I do not find this in Old Provençal and I find only one instance in the Old French:

ces natures sont vaires et diverses
(Brun. Lat., *Tresor*, p. 5, Chabaille).

Cicero, in his *Academicarum*, uses the word to mean versatile:

Plato et varius et multiplex et copiosus fuit (Ac. I, 4, 17),

but so far as my researches have gone he stands alone in this use.⁴

When we turn, however, to the much quoted saying of Virgil,

. . . varium et mutabile semper
Femina (Aeneid IV, 569),

we find it paralleled frequently both in the Old French and Old Provençal. This use appears to occur also in the Spanish, Italian, Catalan and Portuguese.⁵ The meaning is usually 'false,' but always the sort of falseness which comes of fickleness or changeableness, and in some instances the word means only 'changeable,' with no necessary connotation of falsity. In modern French the learned word *variant* has supplanted the folk-word in this meaning (see Exhibit A).

Another use in the Classical Latin is in designating certain animals; as for instance the leopard, the magpie, a speckled fish and

³ This sonnet I take unverified from Alden's *Primer of English Verse*, p. 271.

⁴ But Rufus Choate has it in the sense of 'extensive': "It is a common belief that Mr. Webster was a various reader; and I think it is true."

⁵ I am here citing the authority of the dictionaries. I have found no examples in any of the Romance tongues except the French and Provençal; but the *Century Dictionary* gives the following from Donne, "thinking you irresolute or various"; and in *The Rivals* we find

"The servile suitors watch her various face;
She smiles preferment, or she frowns disgrace."

certain kinds of horses. I have found no instance in the Old French of *vair* applied to a leopard. I am sure I have seen the word somewhere applied to the magpie, but, as the reference has been lost, I am unable to say whether it was in French or in Provençal. There is a small fish, said to have a coat of many colors, which is called in France to-day *vairon*. This word comes from the Latin *varionem*, which was, so far as I know, never applied to any sort of fish in the Latin period. Whether the fish which is called *vairon* in French is the same as that called *varia* in Latin, I do not know. When we come to the horse, however, the matter stands differently. In this connection we find both *vair* and *vairon*, and the meanings of the two words seems to be identical, except that *vairon* appears never to be used attributively, while *vair* occurs both as substantive and attributive. The horse designated as *vair* or *vairon* is of frequent occurrence in the literature of medieval France.^{5a} In the fabliau *Du Vair Palefroi*, he is an important character, a veritable fairy god-father; in every instance *vair* or *vairon* applied to a horse indicates a fine animal (see Exhibit B). Only in one instance have I found any suggestion of a color-meaning in this connection. I refer to the passage in *Le Roman de Vaces*, where the horses are *blans*, *vairs et ferrous* (Exhibit B, No. 8); and to offset this there is the

Palefroi molt riche—vairs et de riche color

(Exhibit B, no. 17, Of an indefinable color.)

Claudius Corte Italus describes this sort of horse as of

color vario et misto: i pelami varii et misti, . . . composti dei quatro colori suddetti . . . talmente misti et posti insieme et colorati, che impossibil quasi sarebbe, over difficil molto, il bianco dal nero, o dal rosso saper con l'occhio dividere, o discernere, o dire.⁶

We find in Palladius, *de Agricultura in Martio* (cap. 13),

^{5a} I was curious to see if this might perhaps throw a new light on the color of the horse of the Green Knight, but I can find no suggestion of any relation unless it be a remote historical one coming through the description or the armor. The *vert helme gemmé* of medieval French Romance may possibly be related to our word, though I see no direct trace of it. (See Note 16.)

⁶ Liber I, cap. 16. I have not verified this citation, which I have from Du Cange.

De equis et eorum coloribus sequentis meriti, varius cum pulchritudine nigro, vel albino,⁷ vel badio mistus.

Now I understand that it is a sign of quality in a horse if the coat is somewhat dappled,⁸ whether it be black with a mere suggestion of iridescence, bay, with the same suggestion, or a real dapple-gray. I understand also that this appearance is not more common in a gray horse than in a bay or black, but that it is thought to be so because it is more noticeable. Those fine dapple-bays which we see frequently are seldom spoken of as dapple, whereas one almost always hears the grey spoken of so. Perhaps in some instances, such as in *Vair palefroi*, the descriptive *vair* signifies nothing more definite than *fine*. In the one instance cited (no. 20, Exhibit B), where *Vairon* is the name of the horse, it may be the equivalent of *Beauty*. Sometimes it may mean little more than *glossy*, but the original meaning *must* have been *dapple*; that is, a horse with just that glossy iridescence which I have tried to describe.⁹

We come now to a use of our word not found in the classical Latin, but which survives so vividly as to be open to the charge of having caused confusion in the modern mind as to the meaning of the word in other connections. I refer to its application to the fur of the small grey and white squirrel so much admired throughout the middle ages not only in France but in England. I have arranged my citations in groups (Exhibit C).

Group I represents *vair* as 'a fur' and as 'wealth,' or a symbol

⁷ *Albino*, Latin *albineus*, was until recently restricted in its use to descriptions of horses and meant simply *white*. The meaning we are accustomed to in English came through the French out of the Portuguese and is not earlier certainly than the seventeenth century.

⁸ It is interesting in this connection to observe the use of Welch *brith*, fem. *braith*, pl. *brithion*. *Meirch brithion* is given in Evans as "Speckled, grizzled, or party-colored horses, also piebald." For discussion of this word and its relation to *vair* see page 331 of this article.

⁹ The dictionaries seem to have been led astray in this matter by the modern meaning of *vairon*, which is what we mean by an albino horse. Clédat, in an undated edition of Old French poems, says that *vairon* means 'dapple gray,' and undoubtedly it does in some instances; but it is not restricted to that meaning, as our citations show. The modern meaning of *vairon*, 'albino' must have come into French, I should judge, about the time that the modern meaning of *albino* came in from Portugal, but the ancient and original meaning seems to have faded a good deal before this.

of wealth, as something stored away along with gold, silver and wine; it is the mark of wealth or of royalty in the way of wearing apparel; or it is merely the sign of luxury; or its absence is the sign of the "simple life": it is an object of search by merchants.

Group II deals with *vair* in connection with the word *penne*,¹⁰ from which connection a considerable interest arises. The word

¹⁰ There is considerable confusion concerning this word, its meaning, derivation, and history. Much ink has been used in trying to make all words of this general appearance derive from *pennam* because they are all feminine. Constans gives a passage from the *Roman de Troie*, at p. 67 of his *Chrestomathie*, where the word *pane* occurs, which, it seems to me, must be derived from the neuter plural of *pannum* (collateral form of *pannus*), 'a piled cloth.' I take it to be the same as the modern French *panne* of the same meaning. It occurs throughout the centuries as a feminine, although in classical Latin the prevailing masculine form has given *pan*. Perhaps the word remained neuter in the folk speech and, being habitually used in the plural, passed into the French as a feminine.

The passage referred to in the *Roman de Troie* runs as follows:

Del mantel fu la pane chiere,
Tote enterine et tote entiere:
N'i ot ne piece ne costume,
Co truevent cler en esriture,
Que bestes a vers Orian,—
Cele de treis anz est mout grant,—
L'on les claime dindialos:
Mout vaut la pel et plus li os.
Onc deus ne fist cele color
En teint n'en herbe ne en flor,
Dont la pel ne seit coloree.

(Here follows an account of the manner of taking the beast)

De cele beste fut la pane:
Basmes, encens ne tumiame
N'uelent si bien come el faiseit:
Tot le drap del mantel covreit;
Deugiee ert plus que nus ermines.

This *pane* is undoubtedly fur, but when we recognize it as derived from *pannus* it no longer confuses the use and meaning of *penne*. Our word *penne* is sometimes used in the sense also of edge or rim: *Partonopeus de Blois*, cited by Ste. Palaye from MS.

Partonopeus le fiert halt delez la penne de l'escu.

Artur, cited by Godefroy from MS. Richelieu, 337, f. 65: Le colps fu si granz et si rudement feruz, si descent de desus la pane de l'escu qui d'ivuire estoit.

It is not quite clear how this meaning developed. It may have come from the practice of pointing the quill of a feather for a pen; but it seems quite as likely that it came from the practice of making border trimming, edging, of feathers. This practice was very extensive, as we know from frequent references. A grewsome variation of it occurs in Book I. of Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, chap. 24, where King Ryons trims his mantel with the beards of kings.

occurs in a poem by Lo Monge de Montodon, which Appel gives on pages 83 and 84 of his *Chrestomathie provençale*. The line runs:

doas penas en un mantel,

and means two rows of trimming on one mantel. This trimming may have been of fur, or it may have been of feathers. In the first passage cited (Exhibit C, Group II; as also in 5, 6, and 9) it seems to mean 'fur,' but in 2, 3, 4, 7 and 8 the meaning is indeterminate.¹¹ We have already seen how *vair* means 'unstable, easily turned, fickle'; and I have cited a passage where Satan was said to be changeable as a *vaire* plume or feather. Let me cite at greater length:

Le gai apel nostre aversaire
Et ses engiens se plume vaire;
Sathanas est vairs con vaire plume

(reference as in Exhibit A. 4).

Now if we make sense out of this, it attributes to the feather, and to Satan, the sort of changeableness which, in a feather, is best described in English by the word *fluffy*. *Penne vaire*, therefore, may be a fluffy feather trimming, more especially appropriate since *penne* in its original sense means feather, but in such passages as *Penas vayras amh erminis*, the contrast with ermine suggests 'fur' as the meaning of *vayras*. Undoubtedly both kinds of trimming were used and probably the writer did not always know which he had in mind, that is, whether that particular kind of trimming was made of fur or of feathers.

The third group (Exhibit C, III) comprises those citations in which *vair* seems to mean some sort of cloth: perhaps some sort of brocade, perhaps merely a changeable weave, possibly a tapestry weave. In some of these citations the meaning of cloth is not very distinct, but when taken with their contexts it becomes so. In those

¹¹ Littré says in regard to the word *panne*:

Diez le tira du Latin *penna*, plume, qui, il est vrai, n'a jamais eu le sens d'étoffe veloutée, mais par l'intermédiaire de l'allemand *Feder*, qui a signifié plume et velours, et qui aurait été traduit par *penne* dans les langues romanes. Il est peut-être plus naturel d'y voir une forme féminine du Latin *pannus*, étoffe; non sans influence de *panus*, fil de tisserand, à en juger par des textes où *pienne* signifie fil.—The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* merely marks the etymology of the word as *incertaine*.

taken from Crestien de Troyes it is interesting to look up the parallel passages in the Middle High German, but owing to the greater brevity of the German, I find in all only two such parallels, one in the passage from *Eric et Enide* (l. 1574), and one in that from *Yvain* (l. 233). In both cases the citation from Crestien is a very small part of a very long description. In the one from *Eric et Enide* he has forty-eight lines against Hartmann von Aue's one, in which the robe is described simply as of *grüner samât*. In *Yvain*, also, Hartmann is much more brief than Crestien, saying only:

Ein scharlaches mântelin daz gap si mir an.¹²

The meaning to which the dictionaries give the greatest space concerns heraldry, but this use is of later development than the other uses discussed in this paper. In the reading I have done I have met with few references to heraldry and only two where the word *vair* formed a part of the expression. I have already cited one of these,¹³ the other occurs in the *Roman de Tristan*,

Escu ot d'or a vair freté.

There is a passage in *La Chanson de Roland* which refers probably¹⁴ to some sort of insignia,

Escus unt genz de multes conoissances
(line 3090 of Gautier's edition).

But in the description of the angry Ganelon's eyes the word *vair*¹⁵ is used in quite the same way as in later writers. Authorities are not agreed on the meaning of *vair* and its modern equivalents in heraldry and I do not propose to enter into a discussion of the different opinions.¹⁶

¹² It will be noticed that three of the citations in this group spell our word *vere*, *ver* (nos. 4, 5 and 8). For a discussion of this spelling see p. 342 of this article. It is hardly possible to take either 4 or 5 to mean *green*. *Plïçon ver* in 8 might possibly be taken so, though on the whole it seems unlikely.

¹³ *Chanson d'Antioche* (Exhibit C, group I).

¹⁴ This passage is thought not to have any connection with the system of blazonry which grew up under the influence of the crusades.

¹⁵ This is the only occurrence of the word in the whole of the *Chanson de Roland*, and the *Chanson de Guillelme* does not contain the word at all.

¹⁶ Although blazonry is, for the most part, lacking in the literature which I have been reading in this study, there is no lack of description of armour. In the *Chanson d'Antioche* we have

By the fifteenth century *vair* was fading out of the French language, and by the seventeenth, when Perrault came to write down the fairy tales which the old nurse had been telling his son, he found some trouble with the expression, *Pantoufle de vair*, said to be worn by Cinderella.¹⁷ Probably the child, in listening to the tale, had thought, *verre*; fairy god-mothers do strange things, and the child mind is direct; and so, because the word had survived its meaning, it got written down as something else. The revival of Old French brought the word into the dictionaries with the meaning 'fur,' but the fairy tale remained unchanged; glass slippers are much more interesting—because impossible as dancing slippers—than fur ones. Mr. Axon, in the New York *Evening Post* for November 15, 1909,¹⁸ suggests that they were green, because there is a confusion also with that word, but I think he is mistaken. Madame d'Aulnoy,¹⁹ writing about the same time as Perrault, says they were of red satin. In the Scotch version²⁰ our heroine jumps right over the heads of the guards whom the Prince has placed at the door, and in doing so loses one of her "beautiful satin slippers." Grimm²¹

quascus porta auberc e vert elm Sarazi (l. 23).

Tristan (Béroul):

Tes jambes voi de riche paille
Chaucies et o verte maille,
Et les sorchauz d'une escarlate (l. 3729).

The Moniage Guillaume:

vert hiaume (l. 5775); vert helme gemmé (l. 6049).

In these citations, chosen at random, we have the word *vert*, which is certainly correct for *green* and refers to the bronze armour of the period.

¹⁷ *Cendrillon, ou la petite pantoufle de verre*, from Andrew Lang's *Perrault's Popular Tales*, edited from the original edition of 1697.

¹⁸ *Green Eyes and Glass Slippers*. Also reprinted in *The Nation* of current date.

¹⁹ I take this on Mr. Lang's authority; see his introduction to work as cited above.

²⁰ *Revue Celtique*, vol. III, p. 365. Report by Andrew Lang of the story *Rashin Coatie*, as told by Margaret Craig of Darliston, Elgin. The slipper was certainly "possessed" in this tale for when the "little red Calfe" had clothed rashin Coatie "yet braver than ever" for the prince's bride, the slipper jumped right out of his pocket and on to her foot.

²¹ *Kinder und Hausmärchen*, Die Brüder Grimm, *Aschenputtel*. In the first place Aschenputtel was furnished with "Seide und Silber ausgestickte Pantoffeln," but on the third and last night there was an improvement in her apparel and her *Pantoffeln waren ganz golden*, and it was one of these that stuck to the step as she fled from the king's palace.

says they were *ganz golden*, and again, *klein und zierlich und ganz golden*. In the Greek of Strabo and Aelian²² we are told that the Prince's men, when they picked up the slipper, said the lady must have been beautiful because she certainly had a pretty foot, and this is as near as we come to knowing what sort of slippers our Cinderella wore in Greece, but there is a similar expression in the Welsh. In Lady Charlotte Guest's translation of the *Lady of the Fountain* we find that both Lunette and her mistress are said to have upon their feet "shoes of variegated leather" and the original runs as follows,

Adwy wintas o gordwal brith am y threat,²³

brith being the word translated *variegated*. Strangely enough this word has a history similar to *vair*. Its original meaning was 'marked with many colors,' and it ran through the various derived and figurative meanings in very much the same manner as *varius*. It was applied to plumcake and intermittent fever, to mixed weather and freaky youngsters, to dapple horses, the pied wag-tail and salmon-trout. Always it means 'changeable,' but changeable in different ways. Why Lady Guest translated it just as she did I do not know, perhaps she knew of variegated leather used for dancing shoes. Chrestien de Troyes does not mention the subject; perhaps shoe leather does not appeal to psychological minds. In the very large collection of shoes in the *Musée de Cluny* I do not remember any which would answer to this description. There are shoes of painted leather, of leather cut and embossed, of satin, cloth of gold, brocade, changeable weaves of wool and of silk, but so far as I can recall, none of variegated leather.²⁴ One may be sure, however, that Cinderella's slippers were neither glass nor fur, but of some

²² *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, Johannes G. von Hahn, Leipzig, 1864, vol. I.

²³ Lady Guest's edition of the *Mabinogion* in the original Welsh.

²⁴ Cinderella was not the only person in medieval France who wore shoes of *vair*. In Godefroy's *Lexicon* I find a citation from *Chansons Normandes du 16 S.* which I have not been able to locate so as to get the context. The citation runs thus:

Chausses de vair m'a faict porter.

suitable material, and that their elegance was sufficiently designated to the medieval mind by the word *vair*.²⁵

But by far the most interesting and extensive use of *vair* is in descriptions of eyes, and this use again is largely French. The Latin *varius* is never found in this connection, so far as I know. I made a special search for it in medieval love lyrics where *oculorum portis, lumen oculorum, lux oculorum aurea, siderea luce lucent ocelli, oculorum acies, stellatos oculos, venator oculus* and many other expressions descriptive of eyes are found. *Varius* is also found, but not in description of eyes. In the classical Latin again we find eyes described in various ways. Ausonius uses the expression *oculos caerulea*,²⁶ and Tacitus describes the eyes of the Germans as *truces et caerulei*,²⁷ while Caesar says of them, *aciem oculorum dicebant ferre potuisse*.²⁸ Caesar is said to have had black eyes and of a wonderfully keen sight,²⁹ but I fail to find in Latin literature any use of *varius* in this connection.

Turning to the Old French we find, in the *Chanson de Roland*, the description of Ganelon in his anger at being sent to Saragossa:

Vairs out les oils e mult fier le visage.

(L. 304, Gautier's edition.)

In the *Rolandslied* we find nothing to correspond until we come to the place where Ganelon starts off on his errand. There is no word here that corresponds to *vair*, but the idea is the same:³⁰

Sin antluzze was hêrsam,
Sin varwe thiû bran
Sam thie liechten viures flammen.

²⁵ Miss Cecile Hugon, lecturer in French literature to the Oxford Society for Women's Education, London, recently suggested that the "glass slipper" of Cinderella, at once so puzzling and captivating a detail of the story to English children, is due to a mistranslation of the French of Perrault. Perrault wrote, not "soulîer de verre," but "soulîer de vair," "vair" being a kind of fur. We may be sure, said Miss Hugon, that Cinderella wore little gray shoes with fur round the top and had never heard of glass slippers.—New York Sun, April 18, 1915.

²⁶ Ausonius, ix, 3, 10. Juvenal uses the same expression in Satire xiii, 164.

²⁷ *Germania*, I, 4.

²⁸ Gallic War, I, 39.

²⁹ Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum*, Book II, sec. 45.

³⁰ *Das Rolandslied*, verse 1658.

In short, this description is of the same significance as Swinburne's, where he makes Chastelard say to Mary Stuart, when she has taken his sword and then begged him to take it back again:

Yea, you are better so,
Without the sword; your eyes are stronger things,
Whether to save or slay.

In none of these passages is there any mention of color³¹ in the eye, nor is there need. One does not think of color in such a scene, it is the spirit, the flash of living fire. And this is the great charm of an eye at any time. Certainly the eye is the one feature favored characteristically by its changing, varying expression, hence it is the one which came to be described by the word *vair*—the word which means essentially changing.

It will be noticed that among the citations given, a considerable number describe the eye simply as *vair*.³² We hear the expression, "speaking eye" which seems in some instances to parallel *vair uel*,³³ but often the meaning appears to be merely 'beautiful' or 'lovely.' Often, as in the case of Cinderella's slipper, *vair* says of eyes all that can be said in their praise. So Gautier de Dargies addresses Gace Brulé:

A en li toutes beautez
Le(s) vis est frès coulourez,
Ex vairs, bouche bien assise
Cors qui m'alume et atise (see Exhibit D. 7).

And some unknown poet of the thirteenth century catalogues a lady's charms thus:

Je suis sade et brunete
Et joenne pucelete,
S'ai color vermeillete,
Eux verz, bele bouchete (Ex. D. 23).

³¹ It is interesting in this connection to note that although so much has been written about the beautiful eyes of Marie Stuart, we are unable to say of what color they were. Some say grey, some hazel, some brown. There is a similar disagreement about her hair, but probably that changed. It is almost certain that it was golden in early youth, changing to dark brown with maturity. Hair with such a history always retains a goldish lustre which makes it appear in the sunlight much lighter than in the shade.

³² Most of the citations down to no. 42 in Exhibit D.

³³ As in no. 1, 27 and 41.

Very much in the same vein is Deschamps' virelay:

J'ai vers yeulx, petits sourcis,
Le chief blond, le nez traitis,
Ront menton, blanche gorgette;
Sui je, sui je, sui je belle? (Ex. D. 33.)

Sometimes *vair* is not quite sufficient. Persewis is described as having *beaus iols vairs* (Ex. D. 49), and the *beaus iols vairs* (Ex. D. 50) of Partenopeus help his lady to recognize him in disguise, Polixenain has *tres beaus ieux vairs* (Ex. D. 55, b); but we also speak of "fine, expressive eyes," and of "beautiful, large eyes," just as in the Old French we find *iols gros et vairs* (Ex. D. 47). We also couple the word *laughing* with *beautiful* (Ex. D. 60), or even with *fine*, and this we find also many times in the Old French. M. Gaston Paris, in his notes on *Aucassin et Nicolette*,³⁴ uses the Mod. Fr. *vif* to translate the O. Fr. *vair*, and I think we can do no better than accept his interpretation; only we of the English tongue have no exact equivalent. 'Bright' does not meet the case, nor have we the right feeling for 'mobile.' 'Spirited' comes nearer than anything else, but this again is too cumbersome a word for that flash and luster, the rapid changes of tone and expression that we catch in a really fine eye regardless of its color. Goethe's definition of grace as *schönheit in bewegung*, comes pretty near to what our word means.

Let us translate our word, then, by 'fine' or 'beautiful' or 'expressive' when it occurs alone and also when it stands in conjunction with such additional adjectives as *seignorius*, *ciers*, *plaisans*, *dous*; but there are certain other expressions which require further attention: *noirs et .i. pau vair* (Ex. D. 62), for instance, and *moitie blans, moitie vers* (Ex. D. 64a), also those passages involving a comparison.

Let us take first of all those where the *faucon* is involved (Ex. D. 70-78). The bird referred to is the Peregrine Falcon, or, to be more exact, *Falco peregrinus anatum*.^{34a} Its eye is a wonderfully rich brown in color, its wit is sharp and keen, its wings strong and

³⁴ *Chrestomathie du Moyen Age*, p. 131

^{34a} See any standard work of ornithology on the family of *Falconidae*, also *Book of Falconry*, Geo. Tuberville, 1575, chapter on the *Falcon-gentle*.

swift beyond belief, its disposition in captivity very affectionate. Fancy, then, the changes one would observe in its eye—soft, appealing glances swiftly changing to the sharp, prey-sighting look of a "huntin' hawk's which gaed throu' and throu' me like a Hieland Durk."⁸⁵ It is with this bird that John Skelton compares Mistress Margaret Hussey, *gentle as a falcon*.⁸⁶ An unknown poet of the early 14th century says of Christ,

He is faucon in friht dernest in dale.⁸⁷

Twice in the *Chanson de Roland* we find the line:

Plus est isnels que nen est uns falcun,⁸⁸

said first of Gramimund, the horse of the *paiens* *Valdabrun*s and then of the horse of Marsilie. Dante gives us a charming picture of the falcon:

Qual il falcon, ch' uscendo del cappello
move la testa e coll' ali si plaude,
voglia mostrando e facendosi bello

Vid' io farsi quel segno, che di laude
della divina grazia era contesto,
con canti quai si sa chi lassù gaude (Par. XIX, 34).

And again, in the Purgatorio:

Quale il falcon che prima ai piè si mira,
indi si volge al grido, e si protende
per lo disio del pasto che la il tira:
Tal mi fec' io, e tal, quanto si fende
la roccia per dar via a chi va suso,
n' andai infino ove il cerchiar si prende (XIX, 64).

It needs no comment on my part to show the affectionate and admiring regard in which this bird was held in medieval Europe. In England, while the *falcon gentle* was as much prized as on the con-

⁸⁵ Scott, *Heart of Midlothian*, vol. II, ed. of Archibald Constable and Co. London, 1895, p. 225.

⁸⁶ To Margaret Hussey.

⁸⁷ Vol. iv of Percy Society Publications (from MS. no. 2253 B. M. circa 1307).

⁸⁸ Gautier's ed., l. 1529 and l. 1891.

tinant, it seems to have shared honors with the goshawk.³⁹ This bird is of the same family and has many of the traits of its more aristocratic relative. Its eyes are lighter, less colorful, but still in the red-yellow range. This is Scott's "huntin' hawk," and is the bird referred to in his expression "goshawk glance."⁴⁰ I am not sure of the reference in Kenilworth,⁴¹ speaking of Michael Lambourne,

. . . a likely fellow . . . and had a hawk's eye after a pretty wench.

Shakespeare has the goshawk in mind when he makes Helena say:

'Twas pretty, though a plague,
To see him every hour; to sit and draw
His arched brows, his hawking eye, his curls.

(All's Well That Ends Well, I, 1.)

The development seems to have been in this order: The word *vair*, having the intrinsic meaning that we have already shown, was applied to eyes to denote their expressive mobility; then the likeness to the eye of the falcon was observed and the comparison made; then in turn the characteristics of the eye of the falcon reacted on the word *vair*, enriching it and at the same time undermining it, so that finally 'falcon-eyed' absorbed it, and then this expression in turn began to fade out, until it meant little more than 'keen-eyed,' as in Sprague's expression,

³⁹ Skelton, *Magnyfycence*, E.E.T., Extra Series, 98, Stage XI, sc. 16, Description of a hawk:

A byrde full swete
For me full mete;
She is furred for the hete
All to the fete;
Her brows bent,
Her eyen glent
From Tyne to Trent
From Stroude to Kent
A man shall fynde
Many of her Kynde.

We also have Chaucer's

He loketh as a sperhawk with his yēn.

from the Epilogue to the *Nonne Preestes Tale*, said of the priest by the host.

⁴⁰ Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* (as above, note 35), p. 233.

⁴¹ Scott's *Kenilworth*, chap. I.

The Indian of the falcon glance.⁴³

And Tennyson's *falcon-eyed*,⁴³ which seems to refer to the sharp keen-glancing of the Lady Psyche, rather than to any especial beauty of her eyes. The phrase *faucon mué*⁴⁴ did not survive the weakening of the expression. It refers to the time directly following the moult, when all that is admirable in the bird shows at its best; it is a similar expression to *in full feather*. *Les uiz vairs*, then, means *falcon-eyed* quite as truly as, *Les yex plus vairs c'uns faucon*.

We find a rather interesting parallel to *falcon-eyed* in the expression *eagle eye*. Dante sees in the lower regions,

Caesare armato con gli occhi grifagni.⁴⁵

Shakespeare says of King Richard II:

Behold his eye,⁴⁶
As bright as is the eagle's, lightens forth
Controlling majesty.

And of Rosaline:

What peremptory, eagle sighted eye⁴⁷
Dares look upon the heaven of her brow,
That is not blinded by her majesty?

And later on,

A lover's eyes will gaze an eagle blind.⁴⁸

We sing of

The martyr first, whose eagle eye⁴⁹
Could pierce beyond the grave,

referring to St. Stephen looking into heaven. Cooper names his Pathfinder "Hawkeye," and in the earlier book he describes him thus:

⁴³ Speech delivered in 1825 at Boston by Charles Sprague, cited from *Speeches of Charles Sprague*.

⁴⁴ The *Princess*, II, 91.

⁴⁵ This expression occurs in citations 70-74, and in 77, b.

⁴⁶ Dante, *Inferno*, iv, 123.

⁴⁷ *Richard II.*, 3, 68.

⁴⁸ *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, 3, 222.

⁴⁹ Same, IV, 3, 333.

⁵⁰ *The Church Hymnal*, Boston, 1900, Hymn no. 507, p. 587.

His countenance was calm and his quick, dark, eagle eye moved over the leafy panorama, as if to take in at a glance, every circumstance that might enlighten his mind.⁵⁰

Eagles, by the way, have yellow, hazel or brown eyes. One very rare sea-eagle has eyes of so pale a yellow that, as he flies over the sea, they take on its color by reflection. These eagles, however, are so rare and soar so high in their flight that it is not at all likely that the color of their eyes should have impressed any one strongly.

Again we have the very famous analogy of *γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη*.⁵¹ *Glaukos* is the adjective which appears to be the parent word of all those on that stem, and *γλαύξ* is said to have been applied to the owl because of his gleaming eyes. Athena is now thought to have been originally an owl-headed deity from which is derived her epithet of *γλαυκῶπις* and so perhaps, after all, the best translation is *bright-eyed*,⁵² which completes the circle;⁵³ but for a long time the expression was thought to have a color value. This may have come from the fact that in the statues of this goddess stones were used for her eyes which had a bluish tinge, selected not for that reason but because of their lustre. It is a curious fact that in Latin we find the expression, *caesii oculi Minervae*. Now *caesius* is the adjective applied to the eyes of cats and lions. Was Minerva originally a feline? Blumner⁵⁴ thinks *caesius* signifies, wherever used, exactly the gleam of the lion's eye, but he does not account for its use in describing Minerva's eyes.

We have among our citations (see Exhibit D. 79), only one comparing *les ex vairs* to crystal, but I think it worth considering because such comparison is quite frequently found without the accompaniment of *vair*; for instance, Ronsard says,

Je parangonne a vos yeux ce crystal,⁵⁵

⁵⁰ The *Pathfinder*, chap. I, p. 7, of Everyman's ed.

⁵¹ This expression is of such frequent occurrence in Homer that it seems unnecessary to give references; in Book xxii of the *Iliad* it occurs at ll. 177, 238 and 446. One might give many other references both in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

⁵² We find *γλαυκῶπις κοῖρη* at l. 26, Book xxiv. *Iliad*, which is usually translated *Bright eyed maiden*.

⁵³ That is, the owl is *γλαύξ* because bright-eyed; Athena is owl-headed, therefore *γλαυκῶπις* when is bright-eyed.

⁵⁴ Blumner, H., *Die Farbenbezeichnungen bei den Römischen Dichtern*, von Hugo Blumner, Berliner Studien, XIII, 1891-2, under *caesius*.

⁵⁵ Sonnets, Book I, no. LXXV.

the Queen of Love in *The Kingis Quair* has *cristall eyen faire*.⁵⁶ Shakespeare has,

His mistress did hold her eyes locked in her crystal looks,⁵⁷
and

One, her hairs were gold, crystal the other's eyes;⁵⁸
in Sir Eglamour the child is recognized as noble because of his

Eyen grey as crystalle stone,⁵⁹

and here we must remember that *grey* is the middle English translation of *vair*. Chaucer says of the prioress,

Hir eyen greye as glas,⁶⁰

and of the miller's daughter again he says,

yēn greye as glas.⁶¹

In *Two Gentlemen of Verona* Julia says, in scanning Sylvia's portrait,

Her eyes are grey as glasse and so are mine.⁶²

What is the value of crystal, what of glass in these comparisons? In *Midsummer-night's Dream* Demetrius says:

Oh Helen, goddess, nymph, perfect divine!
To what, my love, shall I compare thine eyne?
Crystal is muddy.⁶³

Does crystal mean clear? Do glass and crystal mean the same? Malone thought a grey eye meant a blue one, and Halliwell says,

Perhaps from the comparisons "grey as glass" and "grey as cristal stone," Malone may be right.⁶⁴

⁵⁶ *The Kingis Quair*, ed. Lawson, p. 54, stanza 104.

⁵⁷ *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II, 4, 89.

⁵⁸ *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, 3, 142.

⁵⁹ *The Romance of Sir Eglamour*, ed. Halliwell, stanza lxxiv.

⁶⁰ Prologue, line 152, Skeat's ed.

⁶¹ *The Reves Tale*, line 54, Skeat's ed.

⁶² *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act iv, sc. iv, line 193.

⁶³ *Midsummer-night's Dream*, Act ii, sc. i, line 14.

⁶⁴ Note to above.

Now among our citations we find,

vair, riant et cler. . . .

bel oel vairet, riant et cler. . . .

ieux clers, vairs e amoros, . . .

li oeil clair et riant, vair et fendu. . . .

in all of which *cler* is coupled with *vair*, but not in way of a comparison. In the *Roman de la Rose* we have:

Anel li baille, et croce et mitre
Plus clère que cristal ne vitre (l. 20411).

Qu'ele est plus clère qu'argent fin (l. 21364).

Au fons, ce dist, a cristaux doubles
Fait luire quant ses rais i giete (l. 21371).

This last is in reference to *li mireoirs perilleus* and the *deus pierres de cristal* which lie at its bottom and which, in the rays of the sun, show colors *plus de cent*. In the *Vie de Saint Léger*, we have:

Guardat, si vit grant clarité.
De ciel vindret, fut de par Deu.
Si com roors en ciel est granz;
Eissi com flame est cler ardan.⁶⁵

Now in all four of these citations *cler* seems to mean, not *clear*, but *bright*. *Les iex ot vairs come cristal* might mean brilliant as crystal, and, like it, reflecting many changeful lights. Ronsard's comparison of eyes to cristal may be like his comparison to stars, as in the line,

Oeil, tu serois un bel astre luisant.

Stars are perhaps the most used of any word in poetic descriptions of eyes. Barnfield sings:

. . . My lovely Faire
Whose eye's my starre, whose smiling is my Sunne.

And this would seem also to apply to the *Crystall eyen* of the queen

⁶⁵ Strophe 34.

of Love, to the child whose eyes were

grey as crystalle stone,

and to Shakespeare's *crystal looks* and *crystal eyes*; but in *crystal is muddy* we certainly get a connotation of clearness.

And what about glass? *Vitre* is not common glass but of many colors, rich and rare. *Glass* is equivocal. Chaucer's *eyen greye as glass*, and Sylvia's portrait, what shall we say about them? Halliwell evidently considers that both glass and crystal are blue, but I find no authority for that assumption. What did glass mean to the medieval mind? Evidently it would mean what glass then was. Venice was famous throughout the middle ages for her fine glass, which was imported into England and other countries in the form of vases, table ornaments and other ornamental articles mounted in silver and gold. France produced *vitre* also and the finest windows, as we all know, were of the fourteenth century, but England produced only the poorest quality of window glass of a muddy grayish color until well into the fifteenth century. In our citations we have, both in French and English, eyes compared to crystal, and in French we have *vitre* coupled with crystal, we have *vair come cristal* and we have *grey as crystalle stone*; we have pretty good evidence then in these and collateral citations that *crystal* means *brilliant*, and we accept easily a similar meaning for *vitre*; glass occurs in the same connection—twice in Chaucer and once in Shakespeare. Now Chaucer loved nothing better than double meanings. One can imagine his smiling now, in whatever state he may be, at the war of words over his intentions as to the prioress. Those of us who believe him to have been shyly poking fun at her may easily see a double meaning in his description of her eyes: they were grey as glass, that is, grey in the sense of a neutral tint mostly black-and-white blended, like the muddy English glass, or grey in the sense of *vair*, sparkling, colorful and bright, like the rare Venetian glass, or French *vitre*. Of course, in the other case, no one would suppose that he intended to describe the miller's daughter as beautiful; but how like Chaucer to use this word *grey*, which might be either the translation of *vair* or the Old English word *grey*! There is as much humor in the one description as in the other. Spenser, the

serious minded, will take no such risk. He will not compare his lady's eyes to glass because

such baseness might offend her.

But as to Halliwell? Perhaps the only glass he had ever seen was blue, hence his inference. We must remember, however, that the poets in question had a different mental state in the matter, and to reproduce that mental state it is necessary to reconstruct the time, at least so far as the commodities involved are concerned. If modern research has arrived at a correct knowledge of glass as it existed in the days of Chaucer, then, it seems to me, the above interpretation of his use of the word glass must be satisfactory.⁶⁶

We can now understand the meaning of *noir et i. pau vair* as 'black and rather changeful' (or 'brilliant'). *Moitie blans, moitie vers* and *aussy vers que genesere* seem to me to come under the head of green eyes. In both of these the spelling is such that it is possible to tell the meaning only by the context. *Vers* may be for *vairs* or quite as well for *verts*; and it will be noticed that there are a number of citations in which the spelling is the same. Mr. Axon, who, as we have seen, thinks Cinderella's slipper was green, bases his argument partly on the fact of green eyes having been admired by poets of France, citing some of the passages which we have here, one of them being from Marot. (See Exhibit D. 36.) Now the edition of Marot's poems from which I have my citations was published in 1731, and the citations are glossed as follows: "Il paroît par cet endroit et beaucoup d'autres que les yeux verts étoient alors une beauté." Evidently, then, by the middle of the eighteenth century there was but one possible interpretation of the expression. Mr. Axon cites Ronsard as using the same expression in reference to naiads, but he does not give his reference, and I find in Ronsard only two instances of *yeux vers*. (See Exhibit D. 39 and 40.) M. Le Grand maintains that wherever this expression occurs it is a mis-writing for *yeux vairs*, but this cannot be maintained. Mr. Douce⁶⁷ will have it that there is such a thing as a green eye and

⁶⁶ See article on glass in *Encyclopedia Brit.*

⁶⁷ M. Le Grand is quoted by Mr. Axon and others. Douce comments on green eyes in his commentaries on Shakspeare and is quoted by Furness in his edition of Shakspeare's works.

that it occurs unmistakably in literature. Mr. Axon takes the same view and cites among others the eyes of Dante's Beatrice. As in most disputes both sides are right and both are wrong. It is a matter of confusing usages. Let us see if we can make a cleavage. Those speaking on the side of green eyes find their strongest support in Spanish literature. Mr. Axon cites Cervantes in a speech of Doña Clara:

Este sí que se puede decir cabello de orp:
estos sí que son ojos de esmeraldas.

and a South American poet, José Rivera Indarte:

Los verdes ojos del rey
Parecendos esmeraldas,
La purpura de la rosa
Sus rojos labios no iguala.

I recently had the opportunity of talking with a Spaniard to whom I put the question, "Just what do you mean by *los ojos verdes*?" and she said, "Why, eyes like hers," pointing to one present who had unmistakably green eyes. Becquer, in his charming story,⁶⁸ *Los Ojos Verdes*, has made very clear what he means by the expression. It means to him *green eyes*, of a wonderful, limpid brilliance like unto emeralds. He says, in a brief introductory note,

"Yo creo que he visto unos ojos como los que he pintado en esta leyenda. No sé si en sueños, pero yo los he visto. De seguro no los podré describir tales cuales ellos eran, luminosos, transparentes como las gotas de la lluvia que se resbalan sobre las hojas de los árboles después de una tempestad de verano. De todos modos, cuento con la imaginación de mis lectores para hacerme comprender en este que pudiéramos llamar boceto de un cuadro que pintaré algún día."

In the story he describes the fairy as follows:

"Ella era hermosa, hermosa y pálida, como una estatua de alabastro. Uno de sus rizos caía sobre sus hombros, deslizándose entre los pliegues del velo como un rayo de sol que atraviesa las nubes y en el cerco de sus pestañas rubias brillaban sus pupilas como dos esmeraldas sujetas en una joya de oro."

⁶⁸ *Legends, Tales and Poems* by Gustave Adolf Becquer, ed. Olmstead, Ginn and Co., p. 14 and p. 22.

Certainly we cannot doubt that green eyes have been sincerely admired at least by the Spaniards; and we have only to determine in relation to such expressions as *euls vers*, in each instance, not if it *can* mean green eyes, but if it actually does.

But let us now consider Dante's Beatrice. The passage referred to by Mr. Axon runs as follows:

. . . Fa'che le viste non risparmi;⁶⁹
posto t'avem dinanzi agli smeraldi,
ond' Amor già ti trasse le sue armi.

Dante uses emerald in comparison also in an earlier passage which runs thus:⁷⁰

Oro ed argento fino e cocco e biacca,
indico legno lucido e sereno,
fresco smeraldo in l'ora che si fiacca,
Dall' erba e dalli fior dentro a quel seno
posti, ciascun saria di color vinto,
come dal suo maggiore è vinto il meno.

This relieves us of any possible doubt as to whether *emerald* meant green to Dante; but there is another consideration. Dante was above all symbolic, and there is always a danger of wrong interpretation of him unless this fact is taken into account. In canto twenty-nine of the *Purgatorio* we again find the emerald, and the passage runs thus:⁷¹

Tre donne in giro, dalla destra rota,
venian danzando: l'una tanto rossa
ch' a pena fôra dentro al foco nota;
L'altr' era come se le carni e l'ossa
fossero state di smeraldo fatte;
la terza pareva neve testè mossa;

and these ladies represent the three theological virtues; red for love, green for hope, and white for faith. I do not wish to appear to constitute myself a Dante critic, but I would nevertheless suggest

⁶⁹ *Purgatorio*, xxxi, 115.

⁷⁰ *Purgatorio*, vii, 73.

⁷¹ *Purgatorio*, xxix, 121.

that Dante did not think of describing Beatrice's eyes literally as they had been known to him in the flesh, but to imply that her eyes stood to him in this earthly paradise for Hope.

Now Dante is not alone in using symbolism, but all color symbolism does not agree: we find in a Spanish comedy of the 16th or 17th century that green does symbolize hope:⁷²

Por ser yo el de menes partes
Es forzoso que aqui sea
Quien tiene mas esperanza
Yasi, el escoger es fuerza
El color verde.

But in a prose sermon preceding one of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* we find "le vert d'abstinence"; and Chaucer, in the *Prioress's Tale* says:⁷³

This gemme of chastitee, this emeraude,
And eek of martirdom the ruby bright.

In the *Roman de la Rose* the face of avarice is "aussi vert com une cive," and Chaucer translates:

And also green as any leek.

Spenser makes the robe of lechery green, while Shakespeare, in *Timon of Athens*, makes virginity the same color. Again, in a sonnet he makes it the sign of youth:⁷⁴

Since first I saw you fresh which yet are green.

In *Othello* jealousy is the "greene-ey'd monster," but in *Two Noble Kinsmen* we have in Emelia's prayer to Diana:

O sacred, shadowy, cold and constant queen,
Sweet, solitary, white as chaste, and pure
As wind swept snow. . . .

⁷² A Spanish Comedy by Don Agrestin Moreto y Cabana, successor to Lope de Vega. The passage referred to describes a fête where each gentleman announces his favorite color, and the lady who has a scarf of that color shows it and the two are matched for the evening. In the same connection blue is the color of jealousy.

⁷³ *The Prioress's Tale*, 1799.

⁷⁴ Sonnet 104.

. . . O, vouchsafe
 With that thy rare green eye—which never yet
 Beheld thing maculate—look on thy virgin.

Does this mean virginity? In *As You Like It* Orlando says:

And thou, thrice-crowned queen of night, survey
 With thy chaste eye, from thy pale sphere above.

Which makes green mean 'chaste,' if Diane is supposed to have eyes of that color. This variety of color-symbolism, however, need not trouble us, for in most cases the explanation is to be found by the key of the context.

Our last citation brings us to another class of green eyes: if Diana's eyes are green for a purpose, Minerva's are so by an error. We saw, in considering the eyes of Athene, that through the use of green-colored stones to represent her eyes in statues and also through a fading out of the meaning of *γλαυκῶπις* there had arisen a belief that her eyes were green or a greenish blue, sea-blue perhaps, and this idea was transferred to Minerva and with the Renaissance the idea was revived. Therefore when La Fontaine, in speaking of Minerva, says,

Tout le monde entourait la déesse aux yeux vers,

there is no question but that he means *green*, nor is there any question, either, in regard to the meaning of "Pallas aux yeux vers" in Ronsard's ode to Marguerite de Savoie. Whether in the case of Marot's "Venus aux yeux verts" the idea is that a goddess born of the foam of the sea should have green eyes, or whether it indicates that the general impression of green eyes had been extended to all deities, I cannot say. It is possible that this is in the same class with Ronsard's invocation of curses on himself if he ever love a lady with *yeux vers*, meaning clearly a blond; but I am inclined to think not. It seems likely that Marot was thinking of the sea-green, for the word is spelled *verts*, whereas in other instances he has *vers* evidently in the sense of *vair*. Alfred de Musset seems to have the same idea of sea-green in his *Namouna*:

Sur les bras du jeune homme et sur ses pieds d'ivoire,
 La naiade aux yeux verts pleurait en le quittant.

The idea is the same as Becquer's of his fairy, who was a sort of water nymph, a Spanish Undina. Surely no color could be more appropriate for a water goddess's eyes than green.

We have not even yet finished with green eyes. What does "aussy vers que genesvre" mean? The juniper is of a bluish green, but greener perhaps to our minds because it is foliage; in a fabric the color might be called green-blue, but there is a green here without mistake, and, so far as I can make out, without symbolism. The idea seems to be of a cold, forbidding look, juniper hedged in and forbidding or defying approach. Douce and Axon both cite Plautus's expression *oculis herbeis*, but this, I think, is surely humorous, intentionally so. In Shakespeare again we have Juliet's nurse saying in praise of Paris:

An eagle, madam,
Hath not so green, so quick, so fair an eye.

As we have seen, eagles have not green eyes. The nurse had heard eyes praised by a comparison with those of eagles, and she mixed her terms; but there is still the "green eye," which she must have had also from the speech of the day. What is its meaning? None of the symbolic meanings, whether for good or bad, seem to fit here, nor are we dealing with divinity. Thisbe's lament, "His eyes were greene as leeks," impresses one as humorous but we must remember that this expression, "eyes green as leeks" is still current in Wales in a complimentary sense.⁷⁶ Our color sense is perhaps at

⁷⁶ See note on this passage in Furness ed. fault in this matter. It may be that we call eyes blue that should be called green, discriminating against that color. Those eyes which my Spanish friend called *verdes*, most people call *blue*, yet they are really green. Green is the color of returning spring, hence of hope, but also of vitality. Caesar's eyes are described as *nigris vegetisque* and in the *Roman de la Rose* we have *li vers boutons*, meaning *fresh bud* but with a connotation of loveliness, youth and life. There is a folk belief that green in the eye is a sign of vitality and good health. If the authors of the symbolic green eyes could not call to mind a real and lovely eye of that color, is it likely that they would have chosen that particular symbolism when their obvious intention is to praise? We must surely admit that the green eye

not only exists but that it has been honestly praised in more languages than that of Spain.

But in the same work in which we find *aussy vers que genesure* we find also, *Doux yeux, moitié blans, moitié vers*. What does this mean? It is a curious piece of literature, this book on the observance of Love; and I do not pretend to understand wholly what the author is trying to say. The idea here seems to be of a sympathetic eye, so perhaps *vers* is for *vairs*, but *blans*⁷⁰ does not convey any clear notion and I wonder if it is not a mis-writing for *blons* so meaning blue, eyes partly blond (that is blue?) and partly green? One sees such eyes, and if this is what is meant we have the same sense as in Ronsard's twenty-sixth sonnet:

Plustost les cieux de mer seront couvers,
Plustost sans forme ira confus le monde
Que je sois serf d'une maistresse blonde,
Ou que j'adore une femme aux yeux vers.
Car cet oeil brun qui vint premier eteindre
etc.

Our word had been almost forgotten by Ronsard's time. Indeed in reading several hundred poems of Villon, Charles d'Orléans and their contemporaries I found not a single example. So far as I know Du Bellay never used it and, as I have shown, the only other example which I have found in the works of Ronsard is unmistakably used in the sense of *green*. I am not at all sure that Ronsard knew the real word *vair*, but if he did, he knew it in the sense of *blond*, a light colored eye. He knew and used the learned word *varié*. Perhaps in this as in the other instance he meant frankly green.

Now, of the other instances of *vers eux* which I have cited, all, I take it, are variant writings for *vair*, since the use is identical, except the one from the *Régime du Corps*, which is certainly *green* because *vairs* occurs in its own proper connection in the same passage, and except also the one from Sorel, which is merely copied unintelligently from the prose Romances which the 17th century delighted to burlesque. The spelling, however, leads one to ques-

⁷⁰ But this may refer to the white of the eye, in which case the color may be green or it may be blue.

tion whether the 17th century did not believe with the editor of Marot's poems that the word meant *green*. We see then that both Le Grand and Douce were wrong in making their statements general, but that the one was right in finding *vers* a mis-writing for *vair*, and the other in recognizing the reality of a green eye—a reality to which we owe:

O lips that mine have grown into,
Like April kissing May.
O fervid eye-lids, letting through
Those eyes, the greenest of things blue,
The bluest of things grey. Swinburne, *Felice*.

Vair, then, as applied to eyes, seldom has a color significance. In its earlier uses, if truly read, it never has such meaning; in its later uses there is sometimes a hint of color but never anything definite. The word itself never meant *green* though there is a period when *vers* and variants are used, sometimes to mean *green* and sometimes to mean *vair*; but this confusion is one of spelling and not of real meaning. This difficulty (I mean confusion of spelling and sound) crops out again in the English translation of *vair*. There is a good deal to be said about the word *gray* as applied to eyes and the dawn in English poetry, but that I must reserve for another paper.

EXHIBIT A

(Passages in Old French and Old Provençal that correspond with Vergil's *varium et mutabile semper femina*.)

1. Etienne de Fougères, Bishop of Rennes 1168-78, *Livres des Manières*. Pt. I, pp. 1-2:
Quant guerre out, ne sevent que faire,
Ques eschines ne queis a traire,
Quar le plus de la gent est vaire.
2. P. 400:
La nature des mauvais est tozjors vaire et movable.
3. *Roman de Thèbes*, Société des anciens textes français, II, I, 3657:
Sire, font il, que vueus tu faire
Vers ceste gente, que est mout vaire?
4. Renclus de Moiliens, *Carité*, ed. Van Hamel (cited by Godefroy), CLXXIX, III:
Sathans est vairs con vaire plume.

5. *Elucidari de las proprietatz de totas res naturals*, fol. 254 (cited by Raynouard, *Lexique s.v.*):
Es tan vayr que semla de totas colors.
6. *Deudes de Prades*, cited by Raynouard, *Lexique Roman*:
Non a lengua vaira ni pigua
D'aquesta gent falsa, mendiga
Qu' ieu non volgues enans trencar.
7. Arnaud Daniel, Appel's *Chrestomathie*, p. 66, l. 18:
Qu' ieu sui fis druz cars e non vars.
8. Rambaud d'Orange, cited by Raynouard (as above, 6):
A lieis qu' am ses cor var.
9. Guillaume, moine de Béziers, cited by Raynouard (as above, 6):
Cum fis amaire
Murai ses cor(s) vaire.
10. Marcabru, *Poésies complètes du Troubadour* —, Dejeanne, Toulouse, no. 5, st. 3:
Non puosc dompnas trobar gaire
Que blanch' amistatz no i vaire,
A present o a saubuda.
11. Same, no. 24, st. 2:
C'amors vair'al mieu veiair' a l' usatge trahidor.
12. Boniface Calvo, Appel's *Chrestomathie*, p. 79:
Mas s'ilh auzis
con li sui fis
e laials ses tot cor vaire.
13. *Le Roman de Flamanca*, Paul Meyer, l. 4272:
Amors non vol ges domna vaira
Non es domna pos son cor vaira
E non atent aisso que dis:
14. Bertran d'Alamanon, no. 18, l. 3:
Qa us ai seruit ses cor vaire.
15. Peire d'Alvernhe, ed. Zenker, p. 122, st. 2:
S'er fis o mesclat de vaire.
(Raynouard gives this passage with a slightly different reading):
Si es fis o mesclatz de vayre.
16. Peire d'Alvernhe, *Manualetto Provenzale*, Crescini, p. 23, l. 73:
Pero sonetz fai mout gaillartz
Ab motz vaires monz e bastarts
Elui apell' om Cossedon.
(But Appel gives this differently, *Chrestomathie*, p. 119):
Pero us sonetz fai galhartz
ab motz marabotz e bastarts;
e luy apel' hom Cossezen.

EXHIBIT B

(Citations pertaining to horses)

1. *Partonopeus de Blois*,
l. 6788: Si vos donroi un cheval ver¹⁰
(this is the horse given by Uraque to the hero and other references to the same horse are):

2. l. 6879: Puis est montes el bel vairon.
3. l. 6881: Vairon est beaus sor tot rien.
4. l. 6893: Partonopeus vairon esproeve.
Du Cange cites from
5. *Rursum*:
Estouls de Langres sist ou Vair de Cataigne,
Et Bernard sist sor le Vair d'Allemagne.
Le bon cheval qui ot la crope voire.
and from
6. *Le Roman de Gaidon*:
Ferrous li rand vairon qu'il ot perdu.
Et Amanfrois sor vairon d'Aquilee.
(still from Du Cange)
8. *Le Roman de Vaces*:
Et gaigner destriers blans, vair et ferrous.
9. *Le Roman de Tristan*, Joseph Bédier ed. in Soc. des anc. text. fr.
l. 2179: Veient venir un chevalier
Les walos sur un vair destrier.
10. *Elie de Saint Gille*, Gaston Raynaud ed. in Soc. des anc. text. fr.
l. 661: Elyes sist el vair que Malpriorit toli.
11. l. 1622: Et li vairés d'Espaigne me fust chi aprestés.
12. *Aiol*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
l. 4243: (speaking of a horse)
Il est et beaus et cras et bien garnis,
Si n'en e nil millor en ces pais
Fors seulement le vair roi Loey.
13. *La Mort Aymeri de Narbonne*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
l. 1795: Un vair destrier qui fu a l'aumaçor.
14. *Robert le Diable*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
l. 2138: Sor un vair destrier cacheor
Est li empereres montés.
15. *Guillaume de Dole*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
l. 2740: Tant qu'il tint le frain Vairon.
16. *Entrée d'Espagne*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
l. 8483: Lors a brocé li conte desor son destrir voire.
17. *Fabliau du Vair Palefroï*, ed. Montaiglon, *Recueil d. Fabliaux*, vol. I, p. 30,
l. 171: Avoit un palefroï molt riche
Aussi com li contes afiche:
Vairs ert et de riche color;
La semblance de nule flor
Ne color c'on séust descrire
Ne sauroit pas nus hom eslire
Qui si fust propre en grant biauté,
Sachiez qu'en nule réauté
N'en avoit mes a icel tans
Si bon, ne si soef portans.

18. *Moniage Guillaume*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
l. 697: Sire Guillaume, par l'ame de mon paire
Jou nel vauroie por une vace vaire.

This is the only instance of the word in connection with a cow which I have found. It seems to have the same value as in connection with horses, and is interesting because the word *brith* is also used in this connection. See note 8.

19. Ste. Palaye cites from MS. 7218, f. 249:
Dui chevalier vont chevauchant
Li uns *vairon*, l'autre bauçent.
20. and from MS. 7218, f. 342:
Vairon a non cel roncín que je di.

EXHIBIT C: Group I

(*Vair* meaning 'fur,' 'wealth' or used as a symbol of wealth)

1. Wright's *Political Poems and Songs from Edward III. to Richard III. Song Against the Friars*, Vol. I, p. 265: For some vaire, and some gryse.
2. MS. Lincoln, A. I.
f. 248: Well furrede with vaire and the gryse.
3. *Rel. Ant.*
l. 121: Tho' I was strong and wis
And werede feir and grys.
4. Scott, *Lady of the Lake*,
IV, 12: Pall and vair no more I wear
Nor thou the crimson sheen.
5. *Chanson d'Antioche*, cited from Appel's *Chrestomathie*,
p. 33, no. 6, 37: Tuh so li entrensen var o gris o ermi.
6. *Girart de Roussillon*, cited from Appel's *Chrestomathie*,
p. 12, 1692: Prenet drap de cansil e vair e gris.
7. Lo Coms de Poitiers, from *Manualettio Provenzale*, Crescini,
p. 9, l. 42: E vair e gris e sembeli.
8. Peire d'Alvernhe, from Crescini (as above),
p. 221, no. 40: Nil dona vestirs vertz ni vars.
9. *Dit des Marcheans*, ed. Montaiglon, Vol. V.
p. 124, l. 44: Et en maint estrange pais
Por querre laine et vair et gris.
10. p. 126, l. 126: Marchéans de peleterie d'ermine, de vair et de gris.
11. *Aucassin et Nicolette*, ed. Suchier,
638: et si va li ors et li argens et li vairs et li gris.
12. Same, 1070:
Vos ne me sarés ja demander or ni argent, cevaus ne palefrois ne
vair ne gris, ciens nē oisiax que je ne vos doinse.
13. *Protonopeus de Blois*, in description of the triple wedding,
l. 10790: La véist tant bon garnement,
De rices palies de cendaus,

A or, à pieres, à esmaus
Et tant martines et ermins,
Et vair et gris et sebelins.

14. *Aimeri de Narbonne*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
l. 2553: De ver, de gris et d'ermine forrée.
15. Same,
l. 3265: Bien fu vestus et de ver et de gris.
16. Same,
l. 3276: Tant voi sor aus et de ver et de gris.
17. *Aiol et Mirabel*, ed. Förster,
l. 607: Asses portent avoir et vair et gris
Et argent et deniers et boin or fin.
18. Same,
l. 1575: Tant vi entor le roi et vair et gris.
19. Same,
l. 1583: Ja n'est mie li ceurs n'el vair n'el gris.
20. Same,
l. 1612: Puis en ot vair et gris et boin ceval.
21. Same,
l. 1641: Qui de vair et de gris sont tout aparellie.
22. Same,
l. 1934: Il en ot vair et gris et boin destrier.
23. *Roman de Troie*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
l. 26892: N'i remest or ne vair ne gris
Ne vin ne blé ne autre avoir.
24. Crestien de Troyes, *Le Chevalier au Lion*, cited from Bartsch's Chres.
col. 122, 295: Et avuec ce li aparaille
robe d'escarlade vermoille
de ver forrée a tot la croie.
25. *Roman de la Rose*, ed. Michel,
l. 9830: De vert ou d'escarlade achate
Et de vair et de gris la forrée.
26. Same,
l. 10014: Et commandés que l'on vous veste
De camelot, de vair, de gris.
27. *St. Thomas le Martyr*,
l. 779: Or ert simples et duz, despiscit vair et gris.
28. *Huon de Bordeaux*, ed. Guessard,
l. 4886: Ens le premiere troverés le vin cler:
Ens l'autre après vair et gris a asés.
29. Same,
l. 6714: Et vair et gris i misent li baron.
30. Same,
l. 7796: Abandoins vous les biens de mon ostel;
Le vair, le gris, les hermins engolé.
31. *Monstrelet*,
III, fol. 21: Chapperon d'escarlattie furriez de menu vair.

32. *La Panthere d'Amors*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
Avoit chascuns robe vestue
Et forrée de vair menu.
33. *Aiol*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
l. 2473: N'avés pelichon vair, gris ne hermine.
34. *Aimeri de Narbonne*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
l. 2593: Desfublé sont li mantel vair et gris.
35. Same,
l. 2669: Or soient vostre li mantel vair et gris.
36. *Roman de Troie*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
l. 1610: Une pelice vaire e grise.
37. Froissart, *Œuvres*,
II, II, 160: Ils sont fourrés de vaire et de gris et nous sommes vestus de
povres draps.

EXHIBIT C: Group II

1. *Dit de la Mort Larguesce*, ed. A. Héron,
l. 79: D'une vieille pane forrée
De menu vair entrepelée.
2. *Miracle de Sainte Bantheuch (Les Miracles de Nostre Dame)*,
l. 953: Alez me querre appertement
Un garnement a penne vaire
Que pour ce voyage ay fait faire
Si m'en iray (being a speech of the king).
3. *Roman de la Rose*, ed. Michel,
l. 21932: De biaux dras de soie ou de laine,
Où moult a riches penes mises,
Erminées, vaires ou grises.
4. Same,
l. 215: Ou mantiau n'ot penne vaire.
5. *Partonopeus de Blois*,
l. 10633: Gaudins ot bone vesteüre,
Et bien taillié à se mesure:
Penne vaire, pelise grise.
6. *Philomena*, cited from Raynouard:
Gonelhas folradas de penas vayras amb erminis.
7. *Flamenca*, ed. Meyer,
l. 3410: Ab penas vairas, bella e genta.
8. Same,
l. 3493: Puis li det bellas pennas vairas.
9. Marcabru, ed. Dejeanne,
No. XI, Stanza 6: Tan tem quecs que falla trama
Per qu'en lur cortz non es visa
Copa ni enaps d'argent,
Mantells vairs ni pena griza.

EXHIBIT C: Group III

1. *Fabliaux et Contes*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
p. 345: Et il vestent les robes vaires.
2. *Yvain*, ed. Förster,
l. 4358: Par son consoil nos reuertoit
Ma dame de ses robes veires.
3. *Eric et Enide*, same,
l. 2145: Mainte en i ot d'autre afere,
Mainte bandée et mainte vere.
4. *Yvain*, same,
l. 233: Et m'afubla un chier mantel
Ver d'escarlade peonace
Et tuit nos guerpirent la place.
5. *Eric et Enide*, same,
l. 1574: Li vost doner robe d'ermine,
De dras de soie veire ou grise.
6. *L'Escoufle*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
l. 1877: La gentix dame debonnaire
A cascun done reube voire
As festes aneus, qui que faille.
7. Same.
l. 7048: Ele estoit toute desliie
En. I. fres vair pliçon sans mences.
8. Same,
l. 7808: Cele a la bele tresce sore
Qui estoit en biau pliçon ver
Onques en cele nuit d'iver
N'ot plus vestu fors sa chemise.
9. *Les Vers de la Mort*, par Hélinant, Moine de Froidmont, Soc. des anc.
text. fr., 53, l. :
Morz fait valoir et sac et haire
Autant com porpre et robe voire.
10. *Roman Anonyme*, Constans, *Chrestomathie*,
p. 100, no. 33, l. 29: Ne sor mon cors n'avra pelice voire.
11. *Roman de la Rose*, ed. Michel,
l. 6005: Que li rois o sa robe voire.
12. Marcabru, as cited above in Group II, last item,
Mantells vairs ni pena griza.
13. In description of the dressing of Partonopeus by Uraque,
5062: Et un cort peliçonet gris
Et d'un bon vert corte gonele,
Li a vestu la damoisele.
14. Partonopeus de Blois,
5083: Puis li asfuble son mantel,
De bon vert et de gris novel.

EXHIBIT D

(Citations in which *vair* is used to describe eyes)

1. *Chanson de Roland*, ed. Gautier,
l. 304: Vairs out les oïls e mult fier le visage.
2. *Le Roman de Roncevaux*,
l. (?) : Ver et los els.
3. *Raoul de Cambrai*, extract in *Chrestomathie du Moyen Age*, Gaston Paris.
l. 341: Sa bele boche li prent a estrechier
Et si vair ueil prenent a espessier.
4. Marie de France, *Equitan*,
l. 35: Les uiz out vairs e bel le vis,
bele buche, nes bien asis
les chevels blonz e reluisanz
El reialme n'aveit sa per.
5. Same, *Guingamor*,
l. 415: Les uiz vairs e la bele buche.
(This is where Guingamor recalls the charms of his lady.)
6. Same, *Lanfal*,
l. 570: Le col plus blanc que neif sur branche
les uiz ot vair e blanc le vis
bele buche, nez bien asis
les surcilz brun e bel le frunt
e le chief cresp e alkes blunt
fils d'or ne gete tel leur
cum si chevel cunter le jur.
(This is the description of the fairy as she rides to rescue Lanfal.)
7. Gautier de Dargies, Soc. des anc. text. fr. (Poem addressed to Gace Brulé.)
VI, l. 15: A en li toutes beautez
Les vis est frès coulourez,
Ex vairs, bouche bien assise
Cors qui m'alume et atise.
8. Raoul de Houdaing, *Vengeance Raguidel*, ed. Friedwagner, Halle, 1891.
l. 2093: Et les iols vairs et le vis cler
Con s'il fust fais por esgarder.
9. Roman de Troie, Soc. des anc. text. fr., vol. 52,
l. 5171: Patroclus ot le cors mout gent
E mout fu de grent escient.
Blans fu e blonz e lons e granz
E chevaliers mout avenanz:
Les ieux ot vairs, n'ot pas grant ire.
10. Same,
l. 5519: Andromache fu bele e gente
E plus blanche que n'est flor d'ente;
Blois fu sis chiés e vair si ueil:
11. Same,
l. 30010: Les ieux ot vairs e le chief blond;
Le nez e la boche e le front
Ot si bien estanz e si beaus (of Circe).
12. Same,
l. : Les ieux ot vairs, le vis joios
De barbe e de cheveus fu ros.

13. *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Suchier ed.,
 21, 10: Et le mescine au corset
 qui avoit le poil blondet,
 cler le vis et l'oeil vairet.
 (Shepherd's description of Nicolette.)
14. Same,
 23, 13: Vo vair oeil et vos gens cors
 Vos biax ris et vos dox mos.
 (As Aucassin recalls Nicolette.)
15. *Tristan*, ed. Michel,
 l. 2853: Les eulz out vers, les cheveus sors.
16. Same,
 l. 2842: Qui molt par ert vairs et joiaus.
17. *Li Jus Adan, ou de la Feuille*, Adan de la Halle, cited from Bartsch's
Chrestomathie, no. 76,
 p. 247, l. 100: Si noir oeil me sanloient vair.
18. *Prise de Cordres*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
 l. 590: Vairs ot les iolz et les chevox ot blons.
19.
 l. 2166: De ses vers oilz commença a plorer.
20. *Rondeaux de Guillaume d'Amiens*, cited from Bartsch's *Chrestomathie*, no. 76,
 p. 222, l. 1-3: Ja mais ne serai saous
 D'esgarder les vairs ieux dous
 Qui m'ont ocis.
21. *Aimeri de Narbonne*, Soc. des anc. text fr.
 l. 2536: Les eux ot vers la face colorée.
22. Same,
 l. 3268: Vers ot les eux, cler et riant le vis
 Plus bele dame ne vit hom qui soit vis.
23. Pastourelle Anonyme, Bartsch, *Chrestomathie*, no. 62, p. 215,
 l. 9: Je suis sade et brunete
 Et joenne pucelete
 S'ai color vermeillete
 Eux verz, bele bouchete.
24. *Chastelaine de Saint Gille*, vol. I of the *Fabliaux* ed. by Montaiglon, p. 138,
 st. 12: De ma dame ai. I. douz penser
 Dont je ne puis mon cuer oster,
 Adés i pens en regardant,
 Si vair oeil vont mon cuer ardent.

 En regardant m'ont si vair oeil
 Donez les maus dont je me dueil.
25. *Roman de la Rose*, ed. Michel,
 l. 808: La face avoit com une pomme,
 Cointes fu et de bel atour.
 Les yex ot vair, la bouche gente,
 Et le nez fait par grant entente;
 Cheveus ot blons . . .
 Chaucer's trans., Oxford ed.,
 l. 819: As round as appel was his face,

Ful rody and whyt in every place.
 Fetys he was and wel beseye,
 With metely mouth and yen greye;
 His nose by mesure wrought ful right;
 Crisp was his heer and eek ful bright.

26. Same,

l. 1579: C'est li miréoirs périlleus,
 Où Narcisus li orgueilleus
 Mira sa face et ses yex vers.

Chaucer,

l. 1601: This is the miroir perilous,
 In which the proude Narcissus
 Saw al his face fair and bright.

27. *Chansons, Ballades et Rondeaux*, Jehannot de Lescurel, Bib. Elz., ed. Montaiglon, no. 1:

A vous douce débonaire,
 Ai mon cuer donné
 Ja n'en partiré.
 Vo vaire euil m'i font atraire.

28. Ste. Palaye cites from MS. from which the above is taken,

Bonnement m'agré de vous amer blondette
 Doucete, savoureusete et vos ieux vair.

But in the edition above quoted the same passage runs thus:

Bonnement m'agré
 Vous amer, blondette
 Doucete
 Et vos cors veir.

Montaiglon considers this MS. unique; so that Ste. Palaye could not have corrected the reading by another, unless indeed he knew of one now unknown.

29. Grand. Cron. de France, IV, 24, P. cited by Godefroy:

Il avoit les yeux vair et les cheveux blonds.

30. Froissart, *Meliador*, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 35:

Vo vair oel, simple et attraiant.

31. In Froissart's *Chronicles*, vol. II (*Œuvres de Froissart*, Bruxelles, 1870), p. 80, is the account of his visit at Orthais where he was the guest of Gaston Phebus, Count of Foix, Béarn, etc., of whom he says: "... je n'en veis onques nul qui feust de si beaulx membres . . . sanguin et riant, les yeulx vers et amoureux là où il luy plaisoit son regard jeter. De toutes choses il estoit si parfait et tant apais que on ne le pavoit trop loer."32. *Miracles de Notre Dame*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.

l. 262: La belle qui tant a ver oeil
 M'a fait present de son gent corps
 Et sommes en certains accors.

33. Deschamps, *virelay*, no. 5, in Lucas, *Oxford Book of French Verse*,

J'ay vers yeulx, petits sourcis,
 Le chief blond, le nex traitis,
 Ront menton, blanche gorgette;
 Sui je, sui je, sui je belle?

34. Same, Soc. des anc. text. fr. (3d vol. of works of Deschamps), p. 267:

De vos vers yeux, de votre doulx visaige.

35. Same,
vol. 8: Et le regart de deux vairs oeulx.
36. Marot, Clément, Œuvres (ed. 1731, à la Haye), Chants Divers, vol. II,
p. 55: *De L'Amour Fugitif*:
Le propre jour que Venus aux yeux verts
Parmi le monde allot chanter ces vers.
37. Same,
vol. I, p. 167: *Dialogue de deux Amoureux*.
Quant les petits vilotieres
Trouvent quelque hardy Amant,
Qui vuille mettre un dyament
Devant leurs yeux rians et vers.
38. Same, Etrennes:
La duchesse de Nevers
Aux yeux vers
Pour l'esprit qui est en elle
Aura louenge eternelle
Par mon vers.
39. Ronsard, vol. I,
sonnet xxvi: Plustost les cieux de mer seront couvers,
Plustost sans forme ira confes le monde
Que je sois serf d'une maistresse blonde,
Ou que j'adore une femme aux yeux vers
Car cet œil brun qui vint premier éteindre
etc.
40. Same, book V,
Ode II: Ne te dira femme mortelle
Mais sœur de Pallas aux yeux vers.
41. La Fontaine, *Filles de Minée* (speaking of Minerva),
Tout le Monde entourait la déesse aux yeux vers.
42. Poem attributed variously to Pujols and to Blacassetz, no. 84 in Appel's
Chrestomathie:
l. 17: E que faran vair huelh ni blancas dens?
43. Peire d'Alvernhe describes a lady as
plus de doussor, vertz e blancas, cum es nics,
but he does not help us to distribute these adjectives.
44. Arnautz de Marueil, in Crescini, *Manualetto Provenzale*, p. 38,
l. 89: Las vostras belas sauras cris
El vostre fron plus blanc que lis
Les vostres olhs vairs e rizens.
45. *Roman de Flamenca*,
l. 1583: Lo pol ac blon, cresp et undat
l. 1587: Oils ac grosses, vars e risenz.
46. *Partonopeus de Blois*,
l. 553: Cevals ot si beaus et si blois, . . .
Les iols a gros, vairs et rians. (Description of Partonopeus)
47. Same,
l. 3987: Cevals a blois, front large et blanc
Iols gros et vairs, vis cler et franc.
(Description of princess of France.)

48. Same,
l. 4870: A cevels blois . . .
A iols vairs gros et segnorius. (Description of Urrake.)
49. Same,
l. 6290: Ses beaus iols vairs et son cler vis. (Description of Persewis.)
50. Same,
l. 7500: Cis chevaliers sanble un petit,
De beaus iols vairs et de façon.
(Where P.'s lady comes near recognizing him.)
51. Gace Brulé, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
chanson 51: Mi ueil n'en font pas a blasmer
Li sien m'ont mort, he Deus, coment?
Ne sont il vair, riant et cler?
52. Raoul de Houdaing, *Le Songe d'Enfer*, cited by Ste. Palaye fr. MS. 7218,
f. 80, Bib. Nat. old no.: Vairs yeux rians et fendus.
53. Chansons du Chatelain de Coucy, Bartsch's *Chrestomathie*, p. 162,
l. 11: Mais ses douz vis et sa bele bouchete
Et si bel oel vair et riant et cler
M'orent ainz pris que m'osasse doner.
54. Roman de Thèbes, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
l. 955: Onque Pallas ne Diana
La lor beauté ne sormonta
Ne sont petits ne trop granz.

Cheveus out blois, lons et deugiez
Si lor ataignent jusqu'as piez;
Ses fronz aperz et hauz et blans
Bien eschieves par les flans;
Les ueuz out vairs et amoureux,
Ainc hom ne vit tant merveillous.
55. *Roman de Troie*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.
a l. 5547 (of Polixenain):
Le chief ot bloi, les cheveus lons,
Qui li passoënt les talons;
Les ieux clers, vairs e amors
Les sorciz deugiez ambedous
La face blanche, cler le vis,
Plus que rose ne flor de lis.

b l. 17557 (also of Polixenain):
Ses tres beaus ieuz vairs e son front
E son bel chief, qu'ele a si blont
Que fins ors ressemble esmerez.
56. *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Suchier ed.,
2, 12: Il avoit les caviax blons et menus recercelés et les ex vairs et rians et le face clere et traïtice et le nes haut et bien assis. (Description of Aucassin.)
57. Same,
12, 19: Ele avoit les caviaus blons et menus recercelés et les ex vairs et rians et le face traïtice et le nes haut et bien assis et lavretes vremelletes plus que n'est cerisse ne rose el tans d'esté, et les dens blans et menus.

58. Same,
15, 8: Vairs les ex, ciere riant.
Paris translates this passage,
les yeux vifs,
Child, Rich, thy laughing eyes regard.
59. Wace, *Conception*, cited by Godefroy fr. British Museum Add.,
15606, f. 39b: Les eaz avoit vers et rianz.
60. Motet in Constans, *Chrestomathie*, p. 100, no. 34-2,
l. 14: Eux vairs rians, bruns sorcis
Et voutis
Biau nes traitis,
Bouche vermeille, dens drus petis.
61. XIII C.
Motets Anonymes, Bartsch 66, p. 222,
l. 7: Sa fresce bouce riant,
Ki tous jors dit par samblant
"Baisies, baisies moi, amis,
Toudis!"
Son nés bien fait a devis,
Et si vair oel souriant,
Larron d'ambler cuer d'amant,
Et si brun sourcil plaisant . . . etc.
62. *Régime du Corps* de Maître A. de Sienné, Texte Fr., du XIII S.
p. 195: *Des iex qui sont gros, ou
Li enseignement des iaus.*
Ki a les iex gros et grans et tranblans, si est lens, et de grande vie, et
ameros de femmes. Cil qui les a vairs et mellés aussi com à colour de
safron est mal acostumés et de male nature . . . Cil qui ont les iex noirs et
un pou vair, et ne sont rouge, ains sont cler luisant c'est signe de bone nature
et bien acostumée et sage, car c'est li mellor oel qui soient.
63. *Les Dits de Huë Archevesque*, ed. Héron, 1885,
(*De La Mort Larguece*),
l. 59: Ot vairs iex, rianz et fendus.
64. *l'Amant rendu Cordelier*, Soc. des anc. text. fr., 19,
a. l. 1521: Doux yeux, moitié blans, moitié vers.
b. l. 1577: " " aussey vers que genesvre.
65. *Guillaume au Faucon*, vol. II of *Fabliaux*, ed. Montaiglon, p. 95,
l. 120: Sorciz brunez et large entr'ueil;
En la teste furent li oeil
Clair et riant, vair et fendu.
66. *Œuvres de René Regnault et Jeanneton*, vol. II,
p. 129: Avec ses gens et tres plaisans yeulx vers,
Si regarda le pasteur.
67. *Roman de la Rose*, ed. Michel,
l. 849: Les sorcis bruns et enarchiés,
Les yex gros et si envoisiés,
Qu'il rioient toujours avant
Que la bouchete par convent.
The same in Chaucer's tr.,
l. 861: Bente were hir brows two,

Hir yën greye, and gladde also,
That laughede ay in hir semblaunt
First or the mouth, by covenaut.

(This of Gladnesse):

The French here is *gros*, but it is not unlikely that the copy which Chaucer used had *vair*. This is a matter which can hardly be sifted until the large number of MSS. of the *Roman de La Rose* have been collated and a satisfactory constitution of the text made.

68. *Roman de la Rose*,

l. 1197: Apres tous ceus se tint Franchise,
Qui ne fu brune ne bise,
Ains ere blanche comme nois,
Et si n'ot pas nés d'Orlenois,
Aingois l'avoit lonc et traitis,
Iex vairs, rians, sorcis votis;
S'ot les chevous et bons et lons
Et fu simple comme uns coulons.

The same in Chaucer,

l. 1211: And next him daunced dame Fraunchyse.
Arrayed in ful noble gyse.
She was not broun ne dun of hewe,
But whyt as snow y-fallen newe.
Hir nose was wrought at poynt devys,
For it was gentil and tretys;
With eyen gladde, and browes bente;
Hir heer down to hir heles wente.
And she was simple as dowve on tree,
Ful debonaire of herte was she.

69. Christine de Pisan, *Rondeau*, Lucas, *Oxford Book of French Verse*, no. 14,
l. 1, 7 and 12: Rians vairs yeulz, qui mon cuer avez pris.

70. *Roman d'Alexandre*, episode of the Flower maidens, taken from Bartsch's
Chrestomathie, not located in the complete text.

Celes ont clers les vis plus que n'est flor de prés,
Les ious vairs et rians plus que faucons müés.

Lamprecht has:

Ih ne sach nie von wibe
Scöner antluzze më,
Noh ougen alsö wol stê.

71. *Dit de la Mort Larguesce*, in *Dits de Huë Archevesque*, ed. Héron, 1885,
l. 2853: Ieus vairs come un faucon muez.

72. *La Prise de Cordres*, Soc. des anc. text. fr.

l. 711: Vars out les iolz con .I. falcon mué.

73. l. 718: Same as 711.

74. l. 1923: Vairs ot les oilz comme faucon mué.

75. Vol. IV of Percy Soc. Pub. (MS. Harl. no. 2253) about A. D. 1307. Anonym-
ous poem, no. I:

Femmes portent les oyls veyrs,
e regardent come faucon;

This is the only use I find of the word *vair* in this book.

76. *Roman de la Rose*, ed Michel,

l. 525: Le guichet . . .
M'ovrit une noble pucele

Qui moult estoit et gente et bele
 Cheveus ot blons com uns bacins,
 La char plus tendre qu'uns pocins,
 Front reluisant, sorcis votis.
 Son entr' oil ne fu pas petis,
 Ains iert assez grans par mesure.
 Le nés ot bien fait à droiture;
 Les yex ot plus vairs d'uns faucons,
 Por faire envie à ces bricons.

Same in Chaucer's translation, *Frag. A*, line 537, of *Ydelnesse*,

l. 537: Til that the dore of thilke entree
 A mayden curteys opened me.
 Hir heer was as yelowé of hewe
 As any basin scoured newe.
 Hir flesh as tendre as is a chicke
 With bente browes, smothe and slike;
 And by mesure large were
 The opening of hir yēn clere.
 Hir nose of good proporcioun,
 Hir yēn greye as a faucon,
 With swete breeth and wel savoured.

77. *Sir Ferumbras*, E. E. Text Soc., no. 34, description of Floripas,

a. p. 182, l. 5881: Wyd eyene graye, and browes bent.

b. *Fierabras*, Anc. Poètes de la France, vol. 4, description of Floripas,

l. 2007: Moult par ot gent le cors, escevi et molé
 La car ot tenre et blance comme flour en esté
 La face vermetete comme rose de pré;
 La bouce petitete, et li dent sont seré,
 Ki plus estoient blanc k'ivoire replané.
 Les levres ot grossetes, dou rouge i ot assés,
 Le nes ot bien séant, le front bel et plané,
 Les ex vairs et rians plus d'un faucon mué.

c. The same description occurs in the Provençal at line 2020 ff.

d. In the Italian, V, V, I: La bella Fierapace.

I, IV, 4: Same.

IV, XXIX, 1: mia sorella la bella Fierapace.

There is no description of the lady's eyes in the Italian.

e. *Destruction de Rome, Romania*, 1873,

l. 254: Ses crins sur ces espaules plus luroient d'or mier
 Sa char out bel e blank plus que noifs en fevrier
 Les oes avoit plus noirs que falcon monteniet.

78. *Vraye histoire comique de Francion*, ed. 1641, Rouen. Sorel, Book III, p. 219:

Et quelquesfois il me venoit en l'imagination que i estois le mesme
 Demoisel qui basoit une Gorgiasse Infante qui avoit les yeux verds
 comme un faucon.

(Gorgiasse Infante, "glorious princess," but probably in equivocal sense.)

79. *De Gombert et des II Clercs*, vol. I, of *Fabliaux*, ed. Montaiglon, p. 238,

l. 10: Quar la dame est mingnote et cointe;
 Les iex ot vair come cristal.

80. *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, Soc. des anc. text. fr., vol. IV, p. 123, a prose sermon preceding the text:

Quel roy? celui qui donne le bougeran de continence, la pourpre
 de patience, le pers de penitence, le vert d'abstinence, l'escarlate de
 martire, et le vair d'onesté, c'est l'amoureux Jhesus.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

MURIEL KINNEY

THE TEACHING OF FRENCH IN COLONIAL NEW YORK

STRANGE as it may seem, no thorough investigation has been made of instruction in the French language during the colonial period. Histories, and special contributions to the history of American education, either do not mention the matter, or they give the impression that the study of French did not become general until the Revolution. The conclusion that French did not appear in the North until the Revolution has been reached more or less syllogistically. The fact is, the growing friendly relationship between France and America helped greatly to extend the popularity of a language *already established* as "polite and necessary." But the importance of that period must not be overestimated in a study of origins. Neither New York nor any other northern colony had to wait for the Revolution and its subsequent influence to make instruction in French popular.

In New York City instruction in French was given as early as 1735. In that year the following unsigned advertisement appeared in the *New York Gazette*:

"This is to give Notice that over against the Sign of the black Horse in Smith-street, near the old Dutch Church, is carefully taught the French and Spanish Languages, after the best Method that is now practised in Great Britain which for the encouragement of those who intend to learn the same is taught for 20s per Quarter.

"Note, that the said Person teaches Reading, Writing and Arithmetick, at very reasonable Terms, which is per Quarter for Readers 5s. for Writers 8s. for Cyphers 1s."¹

Two years later, "John Hastier, Goldsmith in this City," announced that there was at his "House a Frenchman, who teaches to Read and Write French, as also Arithmetick in a very short Method."²

The records indicate that there were two types of schools in which French was taught. One, to which the earliest advertise-

¹ *N. Y. Gazette*, July 14-21, July 21-28, July 28-Aug. 4, 1735.

² *N. Y. Weekly Journal*, June 27, July 4, July 25, Aug. 1, 1737.

ments refer, offered instruction in other subjects as well. In the other, tuition was given in French only.

Schools of the first type may be represented by the one mentioned in the advertisement of 1735 set out in the preceding paragraph. Here we find a master advertising "the French and Spanish Languages," and "Reading, Writing and Arithmetick." In the school to which reference is made in the advertisement of 1737, instruction was given in "Arithmetick." Augustus Vaughan, in 1747, taught "English, Latin, French, Spanish and Italian,"³ and John Clarke, in 1749, "Reading, Writing, Vulgar and Decimal Arithmetick, the Extraction of the Square and Cube Root, Navigation, Surveying, French and Spanish. . . . Book-keeping after the true Italian Method."⁴ In Michael Christian Knoll's school, of 1750, French was offered in combination with "Latin . . . Greek, and Hebrew, and Philosophy, and . . . Merchant's Accounts after the Italian Fashion."⁵ Advertisements of the years 1750-1783 indicate that such schools were numerous during the last three decades of the colonial period. Not only were they in greater demand, but most schoolmasters could not afford to teach one subject only.

As we may expect, there were relatively few schools in which French alone was taught. Some of these were patronised by adults only; in others, there were separate classes for adults and children. A notice of May 31, 1756, informs us "That Peter Durand, lately from Holland, intends to teach Gentlemen and Ladies to read and write French."⁶ William Clajon, in 1761, announced that "He takes no Children. . . . He . . . undertakes to teach no others, but such as are both willing and capable of Improvement and is determined not to sacrifice his Honour and Character, either to the Caprice of Children or to the Lavishness of some Parents."⁷

Although the terms "school," and "academy," appear frequently in the advertisements, the average master kept school "at his house." Reinhold Jan Klockhoff, in 1751, taught "at the House of Mr.

³ *N. Y. Gazette*. Revived in the *Weekly Post Boy*, Oct. 26, 1747.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, Dec. 11, Dec. 18, 1749; *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1750. John Clarke styled himself "Philomath."

⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 6, Aug. 13, 1750.

⁶ *N. Y. Gazette* or *Weekly Post Boy*, May 31, 1756.

⁷ *N. Y. Mercury*, Nov. 2, 1761.

Bratt, wherein the Widow of Mr. J. P. Zenger now lives, upon Golden-Hill, in New York."⁸ In 1752 John Baptiste Guerbois gave instruction in French "at Mr. Bury's Tailor in Beaver Street."⁹ William Clajon, in 1761, opened "his School at the House of Mrs. Boskirk . . . in Dock Street,"¹⁰ and in 1764, "at the House of Mr. Samuel Israel over against the Queen's Head Tavern."¹¹ On May 19, 1766, he announced that "the Minister and Elders of the French Church, desirous to encourage a French-School, have granted me Leave to teach in their Consistory Room, situate in the Yard of that Church."¹² The Rev. Mr. Frederick Rothenbuhler, in 1762, seems to have kept a more pretentious establishment, a "French Boarding School," in which "young Gentlemen and Ladies may be boarded by him, agreeable to their Rank; to instruct them in whatever is necessary for the finishing of their Education."¹³ Many French boarding-schools appeared in New York City, during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. In 1774 Anthony Fiva announced that he "would be glad to take a couple of single gentlemen, willing to learn or improve themselves in the above languages."¹⁴

⁸ *N. Y. Gazette*. Revived in the *Weekly Post Boy*, April 22, 1751.

Ibid., Aug. 26, Sept. 2, Sept. 16, Sept. 23, 1751. Jan Paulus Ostome: "in the House of the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton in Stone-street."

⁹ *N. Y. Gazette*. Revived in the *Weekly Post Boy*, Nov. 6, Nov. 27, 1752.

N. Y. Gazette or *Weekly Post Boy*, Nov. 26, Dec. 3, 1753. John Lewis Mayor: "At Mrs. Favieres, near the Long-Bridge."

N. Y. Gazette and *Weekly Mercury*, Jan. 29, Feb. 5, Feb. 12, Oct. 1, Oct. 8, 1770. John Girault: "At the Widow Sarah Horner opposite the Seceders Meeting House."

Ibid., July 22, Aug. 19, 1771. Michael Bechades: "At his Academy at the Widow Hayes . . . in Dock-street."

¹⁰ *N. Y. Mercury*, Jan. 26, Nov. 2, 1761.

¹¹ *N. Y. Gazette* or *Weekly Post Boy*, Oct. 25, Nov. 1, Nov. 15, Nov. 22, 1764.

¹² *N. Y. Mercury*, May 19, May 26, 1766.

¹³ *N. Y. Gazette* or *Weekly Post Boy*, July 8, 1762.

N. Y. Gazette and *Weekly Mercury*, Jan. 14, Jan. 21, Jan. 28, Feb. 4, Feb. 11, 1771. J. and M. Tanner: "Young Ladies boarded on reasonable Terms."

Rivington's *N. Y. Gazetteer*, or Connecticut, New Jersey, Hudson's River, and Quebec *Weekly Advertiser*, April 21, April 28, 1774. Simeon and Catherine Lugin: "Boarding and Day School for young ladies."

Ibid., July 21, 1774. Mrs. Cozani: "A French Boarding School."

N. Y. Journal or the *General Advertiser*, Feb. 17, 1774. J. Peter Tetard: "French Boarding School."

¹⁴ Rivington's *N. Y. Gazetteer*, or Conn., N. H. R., and Quebec *Weekly Advertiser*, May 19, May 26, 1774.

Information concerning the qualifications of the masters is fairly abundant. Many of them were Frenchmen,¹⁵ and advertised themselves as "natives of France,"¹⁶ or as "just arrived here from Paris."¹⁷ A schoolmaster of 1757 called attention to the fact that he had "made his Tour through France."¹⁸ Thomas Egan, in 1780, advertised that his "residence for many years in some of the first compting-houses in France enables him to assure those Gentlemen and Ladies who please to receive his instructions that they will not be disappointed in his abilities."¹⁹ Advertisements of another form announced that certain masters had "taught the French Language in this City," or elsewhere, "for a few Years."²⁰ The Rev. J. Peter Tetard, in 1774, assumed that his "Character and Capacity are well known, he having lived with Credit in the City of New York for upwards of fifteen Years; So that Gentlemen who will entrust him

¹⁵ *N. Y. Weekly Journal*, June 27, July 4, July 25, Aug. 1, 1737.

Names like Bechades, Clajon, De La Roche, Durand, Girault, Guerbois, Haumaid, Lugin, Philipse, Teniere, and Tetard appear frequently in the advertisements.

¹⁶ *Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer*, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and *Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, April 21, April 28, 1774.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 29, Feb. 5, Feb. 12, Oct. 1, Oct. 8, 1770. "John Girault, A Native of France, lately arrived in this City."

N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, May 18, 1772. "A Gentleman, Native of Paris."

¹⁷ *N. Y. Gazette*. Revived in the *Weekly Post Boy*, Nov. 6, Nov. 27, 1752. "John Baptiste Guerbois just arrived here from Paris."

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, July 22, Aug. 19, 1771. "Michael Bechades from Paris."

¹⁸ *N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy*, Oct. 17, Oct. 24, Nov. 21, Nov. 28, Dec. 19, 1757.

¹⁹ *N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, Jan. 10, 1780.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and *Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, July 22, Aug. 12, Dec. 9, Dec. 16, 1773. Anthony Fiva "resided many years in Paris and Madrid."

²⁰ *N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, March 2, 1772. Francis Humbert De La Roche.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and *Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, Dec. 22, 1774. Anthony Fiva, "for these two years past has taught the French, Spanish, and Italian languages in this City constantly with equal Success."

Ibid., Oct. 26, Nov. 9, Nov. 16, 1775. Francis Vandale "taught French and other languages with good success, in Boston and Newport in Rhode Island."

with the Education of their Children may depend on their Expectations being properly answered."²¹

Some of the masters appear to have been well qualified morally and intellectually. As may be expected, a few of them were ministers or ex-ministers.²² In 1770 John Girault, "A Native of France," advised "the Public" that "He has brought with him ample Certificates of his Character, from the Consistory of a Protestant Congregation at Poitou in France, where he was an Elder, and from the Consistory of a French Church in London where he resided for several Years."²³ William Clajon, in 1761, "in order to satisfy those Gentlemen and Ladies who desire to be taught the French Language grammatically; and with a true Pronunciation," was "examined at the College in this City by the Revd. Mr. Carle Minister of the French Church and the Revd. Mr. Testart, another French Minister, in the Presence of the Revd. Doctor Johnson, President of the College, and fully satisfied them of his Capacity."²⁴ An unknown master of 1772 advertised himself as "A Gentleman, Native of Paris, who took the Degree of Master of Arts at that University, and lately taught in Nassau Hall, New Jersey."²⁵ Anthony Fiva, who taught French, Spanish, and Italian, in New York City, during the years 1772-1775, also "had an academical educa-

²¹ *N. Y. Journal or the General Advertiser*, Feb. 17, 1774.

²² *N. Y. Gazette*. Revived in the *Weekly Post Boy*, Aug. 6, Aug. 13, 1750. Michael Christian Knoll, former "Minister of the Lutheran Church here."

N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy, Nov. 26, Dec. 3, 1753. "the Rev'd John Lewis Mayor."

Ibid., July 8, 1762. "The Rev. Mr. Frederic Rothenbuhler, Minister of the Switzer Church."

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Sept. 7, Sept. 14, Oct. 5, 1772. "the Revd. J. Peter Tetard, late Minister of the Reformed French Church in this City." Tetard's advertisement appears again in the *N. Y. Journal or General Advertiser*, Feb. 17, 1774, and in *Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer*, or *Conn.*, N. J., H. R., and *Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, May 4, June 1, June 15, June 22, June 29, July 13, 1775.

²³ *N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, Jan. 29, Feb. 5, Feb. 12, Oct. 1, Oct. 8, 1770.

²⁴ *N. Y. Mercury*, Jan. 26, Nov. 2, 1761. Reference is made to King's College, later Columbia.

²⁵ *N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy*, May 18, 1772. Princeton.

tion."²⁶ John Haumaid, in 1772, thought "it unnecessary to say anything respecting his abilities as a teacher, as the bare mention of his having under his tuition the principal students of King's College, as well as a number of ladies and gentlemen who before made some advances in this polite language, together with his having a regular education fully bespeaks his abilities as a teacher of the same."²⁷

The newspapers contain a brief but fairly adequate statement of the aim of instruction in these schools. William Clajon's "design," of 1761, was "to perform within Six Months what he promises to do, viz., to give a true Pronunciation to his Scholars, to enable them to translate French into English, and English into French, so as to fit them to improve afterwards without any other Help, than the Method he will advise them to take."²⁸ Anthony Fiva, in 1773, proposed to "entirely ground them in the true accent . . . and all the rules of the syntax."²⁹

Our description of the methods of teaching French must be somewhat incomplete. Only a few of the advertisements indicate the methods employed, and the fragmentary nature of the material leaves much to be inferred. Most of the masters announced merely that they would teach the language "correctly and expeditiously,"³⁰ "in the most expeditious Manner,"³¹ or "in the most perfect and easy manner."³² An unknown master, in 1735, taught French

²⁶ *Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer*, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and *Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, July 22, Aug. 12, Dec. 9, Dec. 16, 1773. Fiva "is therefore able to resolve any question that might puzzle his scholars."

²⁷ *N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, Sept. 21, 1772.

²⁸ *N. Y. Mercury*, Jan. 26, Nov. 2, 1761.

²⁹ *Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer*, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and *Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, July 22, Aug. 12, Dec. 9, Dec. 16, 1773.

³⁰ *N. Y. Gazette*. Revived in the *Weekly Post Boy*, Oct. 26, 1747.

N. Y. Gazette or *Weekly Post Boy*, July 8, 1762. "The Rev. Mr. Frederic Rothenbuhler . . . continues teaching young Gentlemen and Ladies the Latin and French Languages as usual, with great Facility, in a short Time, to the utmost possible Perfection."

³¹ *N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, Sept. 7, Sept. 14, Oct. 5, 1772.

N. Y. Journal or the *General Advertiser*, Feb. 17, 1774.

N. Y. Weekly Journal, June 27, July 2, July 25, Aug. 1, 1737. "In a very short Method."

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, July 22, Aug. 19, 1771. "In the most elegant and expeditious Manner."

³² *Ibid.*, Jan. 10, Jan. 17, 1780.

"after the best Method that is now practised in Great Britain";³³ and Anthony Fiva, in 1774, "after the manner of academies, universities, and colleges of the learned world."³⁴ John Philipse, in 1758, assured his students that they "may depend upon being taught in the most Modern and Expeditious Method, and according to Mr. Paillaret's System; who had the Honour of teaching the Royal Family."³⁵ Michael Bechades, in 1771, had "a particular Method by which a Parson may in three Months speak it with ease."³⁶

More definitive information is supplied by Jan Paulus Ostome, in 1751, who taught "the French Language . . . according to the best Grammar Rules";³⁷ and John Girault, in 1773, "who instructs his pupils in all the variations of this polite tongue, after the rules of the most approved grammars, founded on the decisions of the Academy at Paris."³⁸ In Simeon and Catherine Lugin's "Boarding and Day School for young Ladies," of 1774, "the polite French language, which is constantly spoken in the family, being now-a-days part of the education of young ladies, will . . . be taught grammatically by Mr. and Mrs. Lugin, with that accent and pronunciation peculiar to the natives of France."³⁹ Mrs. Cozani, in the same year, taught her "young Ladies, . . . to write and translate one language into another."⁴⁰ William Clajon's notice of 1761 informs us that "not more than six nor less than four can be in a Class, and after a Class has begun, another Person cannot be taken into it, as it would retard the Progress of the Rest."⁴¹ In 1766 he announced that "My method shall be varied so as to suit the learner's views, age, &c. taking care to give but few rules properly exemplified."⁴²

³³ *N. Y. Gazette*, July 14-21, July 21-28, July 28-Aug. 4, Aug. 4-11, 1735.

³⁴ *Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer*, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and *Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, Dec. 22, 1774.

³⁵ *N. Y. Gazette* or *Weekly Post Boy*, Jan. 30, Feb. 6, Feb. 20, March 6, 1758.

³⁶ *N. Y. Gazette* and *Weekly Mercury*, July 22, Aug. 19, 1771.

³⁷ *N. Y. Gazette*. Revived in the *Weekly Post Boy*, Aug. 26, Sept. 2, Sept. 16, Sept. 23, 1751.

³⁸ *Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer*, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and *Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, Sept. 16, Sept. 23, Oct. 7, Oct. 14, 1773.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, April 21, April 28, 1774.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, July 21, 1774.

⁴¹ *N. Y. Mercury*, Jan. 26, Nov. 2, 1761.

⁴² *Ibid.*, May 19, May 26, 1766.

The teaching methods of most masters included the use of books, although the advertisements make but few references to the matter. Michael Bechades, in 1771, informed prospective students that he had "the choicest set of French books of every kind."⁴³ Apparently, William Clajon (1761) got into difficulty during the first year of his teaching in New York City, because he was not supplied with certain texts. His embarrassment may be inferred from the following notice:

"William Clajon Who began last Winter to teach the French Language, in this City, having been disappointed on account of those books he thought best calculated from his method of teaching, and being told by all those he had been acquainted with that his not being properly encouraged was entirely owing to the above disappointment; Therefore in the daily Expectation of those books now imported in the late vessels by Mr. Rivington, he has continued here notwithstanding many inconveniences."⁴⁴

It may be appropriate, at this point, to reproduce a book-store advertisement of 1771:

"Those who teach, or want to learn the French Language, may be supplied at Noel and Hazard's Book-Store, next Door to the Merchant's Coffee House, with Boyer's and Perrin's Grammar, Chambaud's and do's Exercises, Perrin's Spelling Book, do's Guide, do's Vademecum, do's Verbs, being a Collection of French Verbs, both regular and irregular, disposed in one Sheet of Paper.

"Boyer's, D'Alembert's, and Nugent's Dictionaries, French Testaments, Epistolary Correspondence in French and English, Telemaque, Oeconomy of Human Life, etc."⁴⁵

From notices of earlier date, we learn that Boyer's French and English Dictionary, Boyer's Grammar, Chambaud's Grammar, Chambaud's Vocabulary, Rudiments and Exercises, and Rogissard's Grammar, were in use at the middle of the century.

Tuition fees were not uniform throughout the city. Unfortunately, for our purposes, most advertisements do not mention the rates. In some cases they may have been determined by agreement between masters and students. The type statement of terms may be

⁴³ *N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, July 22, Aug. 19, 1771.

⁴⁴ *N. Y. Mercury*, Nov. 2, 1761.

⁴⁵ *N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, Oct. 28, 1771.

illustrated by the following: "will agree on reasonable Terms,"⁴⁶ "at a very reasonable Price,"⁴⁷ and "on very moderate terms."⁴⁸ An unknown master of 1735 "taught the French and Spanish Languages . . . for 20s. per Quarter."⁴⁹ Francis Vandale, in 1775, taught "French and other languages . . . at very reasonable rates," i. e., £2 "a piece ($\frac{1}{2}$ entrance) a quarter."⁵⁰ In Mrs. Cozani's "French Boarding School," in 1774, the fee included all costs; "Ladies will be boarded and educated at forty pounds a year."⁵¹ William Clajon, in 1766, taught "for 24s. per Month, and 24s. entrance, those of riper Years who incline to learn the French Language."⁵² This, Clajon tells us, represents a reduction from his former rates; "His Friends having persuaded him that he might expect greater Encouragement, should he reduce his Price; he informs the Public, that he has accordingly reduced it, though a good Number of Scholars had agreed with him on the old Terms."⁵³ In another announcement of the same year, he "gives Notice" that "Gentlemen who will meet to the Number of five, to be taught together in one Class, will be taught still cheaper."⁵⁴ Custom demanded that all fees be paid in advance, but many of Clajon's students seem to have neglected this matter, and as a result he was unable to pay his own bills. He tells the story of his embarrassment in an advertisement of 1766. The account follows:

"Above five years ago, when I came to this City, every one of my scholars had agreed to pay each Month beforehand; but unfortunately, I have not strictly enforced that rule; the consequence was, that I have been arrested, when the money due me for teaching could have over-paid all my debts; and after a long confinement, and a

⁴⁶ *N. Y. Weekly Journal*, June 27, July 2, July 25, Aug. 1, 1737.

⁴⁷ *N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, March 2, 1772. "On the most reasonable Terms."

⁴⁸ *N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy*, July 8, 1762.

⁴⁹ *Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer*, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and *Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, Dec. 22, 1774.

⁵⁰ *N. Y. Gazette*, July 14-21, July 21-28, July 28-Aug. 4, Aug. 4-11, 1735.

⁵¹ *Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer*, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and *Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, Oct. 26, Nov. 9, Nov. 16, 1775.

⁵² *Ibid.*, July 21, 1774.

⁵³ *N. Y. Mercury*, May 19, May 26, 1766.

⁵⁴ *N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy*, Oct. 25, Nov. 1, Nov. 15, Nov. 22, 1764. *Ibid.*, May 12, May 22, 1766.

⁵⁵ *N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy*, Feb. 6, 1766.

much longer time still before I could obtain a Letter of Licence, I was more encumbered than before, whilst those who were indebted to me, having left this City, I have lost even the most distant prospect of payment. I hope therefore, that far from being offended at my insisting now on the terms proposed five years ago, the judicious will approve the reasonableness and necessity of every Scholar's paying beforehand, each Month or Quarter, according as he agrees either by the Month or Quarter. The Custom is followed in most places abroad, and many are the good effects resulting from it.

"My ambition being to extricate myself by industry, and an unwearied application, from my present undeserved difficulties, the public may depend on my doing my utmost to deserve encouragement."⁵⁵

In some cases the masters may have found it necessary to supplement their incomes from tuition fees, by engaging in remunerative employments outside of school-hours. It is not unusual to find court officials, attorneys, merchants, and others employing teachers of languages as translators. John Clarke's advertisement of 1749 contains the information that French and Spanish were "translated and taught, and sufficient Security given to keep all Writings secret."⁵⁶ Thomas Ross, in 1754, announced that "translations are done from any of the aforesaid languages," i. e., French, Low Dutch, and Latin.⁵⁷ From William Clajon's notice in 1764 we learn that "He translates English into French and French into English, and hopes that the many Gentlemen he has endeavoured to oblige heretofore, who have been pleased to express their approbation of his Translations, and who have tried his Secrecy, will recommend and employ him, now that he makes it a Branch of his Profession."⁵⁸ Anthony Fiva, in 1773, also translated "from any one of said languages (French, Spanish, and Italian) into the English, or either of the two others, with accuracy, dispatch, and secrecy for attorneys, merchants, &c."⁵⁹

⁵⁵ *N. Y. Mercury*, May 19, May 26, 1766.

⁵⁶ *N. Y. Gazette*. Revived in the *Weekly Post Boy*, Dec. 4, Dec. 11, Dec. 18, 1749; *ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1750.

⁵⁷ *N. Y. Mercury*, Oct. 7, 1754.

⁵⁸ *N. Y. Gazette* or *Weekly Post Boy*, Oct. 25, Nov. 1, Nov. 15, Nov. 22, 1764.

Ibid., May 12, May 22, 1766.

⁵⁹ *Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer*, or *Conn., N. J., H. R., and Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, July 22, Aug. 12, Dec. 9, Dec. 16, 1773; *ibid.*, Dec. 22, 1774. "He copies out writings in the above mentioned languages."

Information concerning the hours of instruction is not abundant. The advertisements indicate that, in most cases, the hours were arranged by agreement between masters and students. The type advertisement contains a statement to the effect that the master "may be spoke with at" his "house," "school," or "academy"; "whoever inclines to learn may apply to" the master "who will agree on reasonable Terms," and "seasonable" hours. "If the Number of Subscribers was sufficient" to "encourage" him, the master might then announce his "public school hours," for those who were willing to become members of mixed classes. John Lewis Mayor, in 1753, announced that "Attendance will be given from Two to Five o'Clock in the Afternoon,"⁶⁰ and Thomas Ross, in 1780, that "he attends from 7 in the morning to 10," three days a week.⁶¹ It is probable that these three hours were "public." Most of the instruction was "private," and the hours were not advertised. For obvious reasons, a master might try to enlarge his "private" classes by inducing a "company," or group of "Ladies," or "Gentlemen" to be "taught together," at a reduced rate.

In addition to the "public," and "private" hours in the schools, many masters seem to have had time for individual or group instruction "abroad." An unknown master, of 1737, announced that "Any Persons that desire to be taught at Home, may be attended at seasonable Hours, provided the Time does not interfere with the Hours of his School."⁶² Instruction of this type must have been very popular; it is probable that many groups of congenial people met together and devoted part of the time to purely social purposes. William Clajon, in 1761, "proposed to wait on Ladies at their Houses if a proper Number of them will meet together,"⁶³ and Michael Bechades, in 1771, would "wait on any Lady or Gentleman in Town at their Houses."⁶⁴

Some of the masters also taught in the evening. The "French

⁶⁰ *N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy*, Nov. 26, Dec. 3, 1753.

⁶¹ *N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, Jan. 10, 1780.

⁶² *N. Y. Weekly Journal*, June 27, July 4, July 25, Aug. 1, 1737.

⁶³ *N. Y. Mercury*, Jan. 26, Nov. 2, 1761.

⁶⁴ *N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, July 22, Aug. 19, 1771.

Ibid., March 2, 1772. Francis Humbert De La Roche also "waited on" people "at their Houses."

Night School" appeared at an early date. John Lewis Mayor, in 1753, taught "from Six to Eight in the Evenings, Saturday excepted."⁸⁵ An advertisement of 1754 informs us that Thomas Ross "began his night school on Monday last at 6 o'clock in the evening."⁸⁶ John Philipse, "teacher of the French Tongue," in 1758, announced that "he will attend . . . every Evening, from the Hour of Five till Eight."⁸⁷

The evidence submitted in the preceding paragraphs indicates that instruction in French occupied a well-established position in the life of colonial New York City. Here and there, we find a record indicating that French was "useful for future Merchants." The advertisements of those masters who "translated for Merchants, Attorneys, &c." give additional evidence of its practical value, and an appreciable number of young men must have studied it with such an end in view. For the most part, however, it is referred to as an accomplishment, and this purpose was emphasized in the advertisements; undoubtedly, most masters preferred to encourage the

⁸⁵ *N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy*, Nov. 26, Dec. 3, 1753.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Sept. 9, Sept. 16, Sept. 23, 1771. "John Girault . . . Acquaints the Public, That agreeable to his Custom he proposes opening his FRENCH SCHOOL, for the Evenings the 23d Instant September, at 6 o'Clock in the Afternoon."

Ibid., Sept. 7, Sept. 14, Sept. 21, Oct. 12, Oct. 19, 1772.

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and *Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, Sept. 16, Sept. 23, Oct. 7, Oct. 14, 1773. John Girault: "French Night School. . . Attendance in the evenings from Six to Eight."

Ibid., July 22, Aug. 12, Dec. 9, Dec. 16, 1773; *ibid.*, May 19, May 26, 1774. Anthony Fiva: "evening school from 6 to 8, Saturday excepted."

Ibid., Oct. 6, 1774. Messrs. Gollen and Mountain taught French, among other subjects, "at their Academy." "For such as cannot attend in the day an Evening School will be kept from six to eight."

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Oct. 6, Oct. 13, Oct. 20, 1777. Teniere: "6 to 8 P. M., . . . Saturdays excepted."

⁸⁶ *N. Y. Mercury*, Oct. 7, 1754.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Sept. 21, 1772. John Haumaid: "Has engaged to open an Evening School, on Monday the 21st of September."

Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer, or Conn., N. J., H. R., and *Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, Oct. 26, Nov. 9, Nov. 16, 1775. Francis Vandale, who "taught French and other languages," kept "a day and evening school."

⁸⁷ *N. Y. Gazette or Weekly Post Boy*, Jan. 30, Feb. 6, Feb. 20, March 6, 1758.

N. Y. Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 10, 1780. Thomas Egan: "attends . . . in the evening from 5 to 9 o'Clock."

patronage of wealthy pupils. As Simeon and Catherine Lugin stated, in their advertisement of 1774, the "polite French language" was "part of the education of young ladies." An interesting objection to the prevailing practice appeared in the *American Magazine*, May, 1788. It follows:

"In America, female education should have for its object what is useful. Young ladies should be taught to speak and write their own language with purity and elegance; an article in which they are often deficient. The French language is not necessary for ladies. In some cases it is convenient but in general it may be considered as an article of luxury. As an accomplishment, it may be studied by those whose attention is not employed about more important concerns."⁶⁸

Such a criticism enhances the cumulative effect of the evidences of the important rôle played by the French language in the education of the well-to-do of the eighteenth century.

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⁶⁸ *The American Magazine*, May, 1788, 367-374.

REVIEWS

Étude sur le Lancelot en prose, par Ferdinand Lot. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, No. 226. Paris (Édouard Champion), 1918.

Anyone who has followed the course of Arthurian discussion will be only too familiar with the part that is played in such studies by hypothetical lost sources, lost versions and the like. In writings of this kind the authors of extant works are seldom credited with any capacity whatever for invention. Especially, for the school of folk-lorists, as Lot remarks in the present volume (p. 236, note 4), "un poète n'a jamais ni talent ni imagination;" it is only the authors of folk-tales—particularly Celtic folk-tales—that are endowed with these blessings, and the poets are generally represented as merely engaged in spoiling the materials which their unknown and unlearned, but more gifted, predecessors have put at their disposal. The facility, indeed, with which the framers of theories concerning the sources of individual romances and the evolution of the cycle (especially, the romances in prose) have set aside the existing texts in favor of hypothetical versions of their own manufacture has too often reduced Arthurian discussion to sterility. One feels as if one were moving in a world of phantoms as baffling as those which one encounters in the romances themselves; for, after all, the extant texts have the first claim to authority, and we have no right to dethrone them in order to put in their places the hypothetical versions of our own fancies, except on the basis of definite, concrete, objective, evidence of the same kind as would be required in the discussion of modern works. Partly under the influence, no doubt, of recent researches in the literature of the *chansons de geste*—above all, of those relating to this subject that are embodied in Bédier's *Légendes Épiques*—there have lately been signs of a reaction, also, in the Arthurian field against the methods that have just been described. Much the most vigorous and elaborate expression of this reaction, however, is the work that lies before us, and, although we may dissent from many of its author's conclusions, we must recognize that the general effect of his book cannot be otherwise than wholesome, in emphasizing the necessity we are all under of first accepting the romances—in this case, the prose romances—as preserved in our manuscripts, at their face value, and making a prolonged and serious effort to discover whether the difficulties they present in respect to structure and details of composition may not, after all, be due to peculiarities of individual workmanship. Too frequently we see our critics, after a hasty inspection of such puzzles, mounting their hippogriffs and taking flight to the land of "lost versions," where they may operate securely beyond the control of mortal vision. As will appear from the following review, in the opinion of the present writer, Professor Lot has gone too far in this reaction, but from any point of view, his treatise is a work of the first importance. It leaves hardly any question relating to the prose romances untouched, and no single work on the Arthurian romances, in general, is fuller of stimulating discussions from new points of view. Moreover, the book abounds in detailed information concerning

the MSS. of the *Lancelot*, which has been lacking heretofore, and Arthurian scholars will note with the liveliest interest that the author speaks of having in preparation another volume which is to be devoted entirely to the MSS. of the Vulgate cycle. The present work possesses, besides, the rare advantage among Arthurian studies of dealing with a comparatively fresh subject; for until the publication of the *Lancelot* (1910-1912) in Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* this romance was virtually a sealed book to the generality of scholars, and there has consequently been relatively little discussion of it.

Lot has summarized (pp. 7 f.) succinctly and clearly the main conclusions of his book in the following words:

"Le corpus *Lancelot-Graal* [i.e., the seven volumes in Sommer's series], déduction faite du *Merlin* et de ses suites [i.e., Sommer's Vols. 2 and 7], qui sont certainement postiches, est dû à un seul auteur. Il présente sous une diversité apparente une unité de conception et de plan certaine. Ce n'est pas l'œuvre romanesque et mystique la plus parfaite du moyen âge français, mais c'en est, à coup sûr, la plus puissante."

The result, thus stated, is startling enough, since all previous students of these romances, however divergent their opinions might be in other respects, have agreed, without exception, that the individual members of the series (barring, possibly, the *Estoire del Saint Graal* and the *Queste del Saint Graal*, devoted, respectively, to the Early History and the Quest of the Holy Grail) were originally the works of different authors and were only subsequently adjusted to each other, in varying degrees, by *assembleurs* or redactors. Furthermore, no one hitherto has doubted that even the central member of the series, *Estoire del Saint Graal* (or *Grand St. Graal*, as scholars, without manuscript authority, have often chosen to call it), *Merlin*, *Lancelot*, *Queste del Saint Graal*, *Mort Artu*—namely, the *Lancelot*—was the work of more than one hand. If current theories, however, are to be rejected, Lot is right in claiming single authorship not merely for the *Lancelot*, but for the whole series, minus the *Merlin* and its continuations; for both allusions and passages of considerable scope, based on the other romances, are so frequent in the *Lancelot*, in the only form in which it has been handed down to us, that one cannot accept that romance in this form as being the (virtually) unaltered original romance, without also accepting the theory of single authorship for the whole series, with the exceptions indicated. But let us note some of the *a priori* improbabilities which this theory involves.¹

According to Lot's conclusions, then, a single author composed this whole series of five volumes in Sommer's edition—that is to say, 1874 large quarto pages, which is more than three times the size of *David Copperfield*—between the end of 1221 and the end of 1225 (cp. p. 140). I will not dwell here on the fact that this dating is certainly erroneous; for Helinand of Froimont, in the oft-quoted passage of his chronicle, refers distinctly to the *Estoire*. The reference is familiar to all students of the Grail romances, but none of these students appear to have known that Helinand completed his chronicle before 1216 (the year in which King John of England, referred to near the end of the chronicle

¹ In my "The Composition of the Old French Prose *Lancelot*," *ROMANIC REVIEW*, IX, 243 ff. (1918), I have presented more fully already the general objections here recapitulated against the theory of single authorship for the *Lancelot*. These objections, of course, tell with even greater force against the theory of single authorship for the *Estoire*, *Lancelot*, *Queste*, and *Mort Artu*.

as still living, died).² Even if we accepted, however, 1221 as the year in which the supposed author of the *corpus* began his work, it is to be observed that by that year there was no French fiction in prose—unless we choose to put the brief saints' lives in that category—except, possibly, the prose renderings of Robert de Boron's *Joseph* and *Merlin*, both works of quite limited extent.³ Indeed, as is well known, French prose of any kind only commences in the last years of the twelfth century, and by the year mentioned above the only prose work of even moderate length that had been produced in the vernacular was Villehardouin's *Chronicle*, which in N. de Wailly's edition (Paris, 1874) fills only 150 octavo pages—the equivalent of considerably less than 75 pages of Sommer's edition of the prose romances. Moreover, in the subsequent history of European prose fiction there are no works that equal (or surpass) in length the five volumes under discussion, combined, except one or two of the vast French romances of the seventeenth century (e.g., Mlle. Scudéry's *Le Grand Cyrus*).⁴ Now, is it at

² This was pointed out in 1905 in the Introduction, p. xxv (note), to the edition of Helinand's *Vers de la Mort*, by F. Wulff and E. Walberg (Société des anciens textes français). In the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, III, 185 ff. (1912), I called attention to this passage in the Introduction just mentioned, and its great importance for the dating of the prose romances (which Wulff and Walberg had not observed). I used it in correcting my earlier dating of the *Mort Artu*. Lot has evidently overlooked my discussion of these matters. This oversight vitiates, also, his argument as to the date of Robert de Boron's poem, for, of course, the *Estoire* is dependent on the *Joseph*.

³ There are only 1497 lines in the prose rendering of Robert's *Joseph* (cp. G. Weidner's edition, Oppeln, 1881) and 86 pages in that of his *Merlin* (cp. Sommer's series, Vol. 2). G. Paris, *Mélanges de littérature française du moyen âge*, I, 50, expresses the opinion that the *Lancelot* (in an earlier form than that which has been preserved) was the earliest French prose romance. I believe, however, that the prose renderings of Robert are still earlier. Brugger, who also holds the latter view, *Zs. f. frz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXIX¹, 75 f. (1906), thinks that the author of these renderings adopted the prose form, in order to accentuate the historical character of Robert's narratives. In my opinion, it was the quasi-religious character of Robert's *Joseph* that caused his work to be made the basis of the first prose fiction in French. Up to that time, saints' lives constituted virtually the only French prose.

⁴ According to my calculation, the number of words in *Clarissa Harlowe* (the longest of our English novels) falls slightly short of the number of words in the five volumes under consideration. *Le Grand Cyrus* was in course of publication from 1648 to 1653. The composition of the work consumed probably some six years. The rate of production which is implied in Lot's theory concerning our Arthurian romances cannot be matched in the history of subsequent prose fiction, except, perhaps, in the case of Mlle. Scudéry and of two or three of the most prolific novelists of the nineteenth century, e.g., Dickens, Balzac, Dumas, who, for a period of five years, at the height of their respective activities, may have covered pages with their inventions at equal speed—in the form, of course, of separate works. But these men were writing at a time when the prose of their respective languages had been perfected through centuries of development and its use rendered correspondingly easy. They were also writing under the stimulus of modern literary and commercial conditions.

all likely that the earliest work in Modern European vernacular prose fiction, with the possible exception of the brief prose-readings of Robert de Boron,⁵ was also the longest in all European fiction, barring the seventeenth century romances just indicated? Moreover, as we shall see, not only would the work in question (according to Lot's theory) be of this inordinate length, but it would also be the most intricate in structure of all works of fiction in European literature.

Let us examine, however, the grounds on which Lot bases his conclusion that all four of the "branches" (the term applied in our texts to the various romances of the series) were the productions of a single mind and composed in the execution of a single plan. These are, in the main, three: (1) the systematic interweaving (*entrelacement*) and dovetailing (*enchevêtrement*) of the episodes in the *Lancelot*; (2) the fact that after the fashion of a chronicle the *Lancelot* follows the action of its principal characters from day to day and that it consequently exhibits throughout a systematic chronology;⁶ (3) that a unity of plan and spirit is observable throughout the whole four branches (*Lancelot-Graal corpus*).

Now, with respect to the first of these points—all of which deserve the most serious consideration—it is to be remarked that the peculiarities of construction in question, which, of course, were not wholly original with the *Lancelot* author (or authors)—cp., for instance, Chrétien's *Perceval* and its continuations—although they are far more highly developed in the prose romance, does not conflict with the theory of plural authorship for the *Lancelot*; for, of course, a

⁵ I exclude, also, of course, Latin *novelle*, among which there is even an Arthurian specimen, viz., *De Societate Sadii et Galonis*, in Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*, pp. 104 ff. (edition of M. R. James, Oxford, 1914). In her paper, "The Authorship of the *De Ortu Waluuanii* and the *Historia Meriadoci*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXIII, 599 ff. (1908), Miss M. S. Morriess has endeavored to sustain Bale's erroneous ascription of these romances to Robert de Torigni, which would put them most probably in the middle of the twelfth century and, consequently, earlier even than any of the extant metrical romances of the Arthurian cycle. In my new edition of these Latin romances (Göttingen and Baltimore, 1913), I have shown, however, that their author indisputably drew on the prose *Tristan*, so, could not have written until far on into the thirteenth century. It is evident that Nitze has not consulted the new edition (which, in the introductory discussions, is largely a new work), nor reflected how completely changed our perspective of the evolution of Arthurian romance would be, if we really possessed Latin romances of this cycle earlier than those which were composed in the vernacular, for in *Modern Philology*, XVII, 163 (1919), he accepts Miss Morriess's results, as if they had never been called into question.

⁶ From Geoffroy down, Whitsuntide (Pentecost) had been the great festival at Arthur's court and furnished a sort of *point de repère* for Arthurian chronology. The chronology of the *Lancelot*, as Lot's own discussion shows, is not wholly exact. Space fails us to discuss in detail this part of Lot's work. Surely, however, the author of the *Lancelot*, III, 118, would not look up the church calendars to discover in what year of the fifth century (actually 428) St. John's Day came on a Sunday. (Cp. Lot, pp. 61 f.) Is not this accidental? Our author, himself, acknowledges (pp. 63 f.) that only in the *Lancelot* is there anything like a systematic chronology.

continuator would adopt such obvious structural devices from the work he was continuing, especially as these devices, to a considerable extent, are of a kind that would naturally suggest themselves to any writer whose narrative embraced more than one prominent character.

As regards the intricacy of this interweaving and dovetailing, there are two remarks to be made: (1) The fact that a narrative fits perfectly with a preceding narrative does not mean necessarily that the two are from the same hand. The *Charrette* episode in the *Lancelot*, itself, proves this. Suppose that Chrétien's *Lancelot* had been lost, who would have been able to tell that the story of Lancelot's cart-adventures and the Bohort episodes that are so skillfully interwoven with these adventures in the prose *Lancelot* were, in origin, separate inventions of different writers? Yet such, we know, was the case. We see the same thing, moreover, exemplified (with somewhat less skill) in the union of the Claudas story (at the beginning of the romance) with that of the *Lanzelet* (in its lost French form). This observation might very well apply, for instance, not only to the above-mentioned Bohort episodes, but to still other adventures in the same part of the *Lancelot*, cited by Lot (p. 23) as proofs of unity of authorship. A continuator could do this kind of thing as well as the author of the earlier part of the romance. (2) Anticipatory references to, or passages preparing for, still other passages that lie hundreds of pages ahead, and the counterpart of these things, viz., the resumption of episodes that have been dropped hundreds of pages further back, themselves, excite suspicion. There is absolutely nothing like this in all European fiction, outside of the *Lancelot-Graal corpus*. Now, is it likely that in the very infancy of prose fiction (as far as the modern nations are concerned)—indeed, in the very infancy of French prose—we should find a work of this *genre* plotted on a vaster and more intricate scale than any in the most highly developed periods of the literary art? Take, for example, the part that Claudas plays in the *Lancelot*. After dis inheriting Lancelot, he drops out of the narrative at I, 104, and only appears again at V, 256, where, in wars that Lancelot undertook against him, in order to revenge an insult to Guinivere, he is dispossessed of his ill-gotten dominions. Now, there lie between these passages 944 of Sommer's large octavo pages—that is to say, a narrative which contains not very far from twice as many words as one of Dickens' long novels, e.g., *David Copperfield* or *Martin Chuzzlewit*. How can one believe that an author deliberately postponed to such a distance the conclusion of the original episode, filling up the intervening space with desultory adventures of every imaginable kind, many of which are the veriest trash—and all this, as was said above, in the very infancy of prose fiction? It is to be noted, too, that the earlier narrative concerning Claudas is one of the strongest things in mediaeval French prose, whilst the later one falls far below this level—moreover, that the character appears in the latter with an illegitimate son (very prominent in this later narrative), of whom nothing had been said before, and with the Lady of the Lake completely stripped of her supernatural traits.

Passages of this kind, some consisting of a mere line, others of whole episodes, referring by anticipation to the *Mort Artu* (as well as to the *Queste*, which follows immediately upon the *Lancelot*), are so frequent in the last division of the *Lancelot* (the so-called *Agravain*) that the writer must have already had that branch pretty well mapped out, even in detail, in his mind, and yet, according to

Lot's theory, he composed the intervening *Queste*, a long romance of a totally different character, before taking up this final branch (*Mort Artu*).

Lot regards such features of the Lancelot-Graal *corpus* as simply due to a single author's methods of composition, and in his Second Chapter he cites examples drawn from the *Lancelot*, in some of which the passages that interrupt the narrative concerning particular characters are long, though not of such length as we have noted above in the case of the narrative relating to Claudas. It does not seem to us, however, that the examples cited by our author are all on the same footing. Thus the delay in the revealing of Lancelot's name is merely an exaggeration of the trick which the author of the *Lancelot* found in his primary source, the French original of the German *Lanzelet*. In each the character concerned, the hero of the romance, is kept constantly before the reader, and, although one may think that the trick is abused, there is nothing unnatural about it; but it is different when we have the name of Trahan le Gai held back for 300 pages after the character had been apparently dropped from the story (III, 208), and finally made known in a passage which is inconsistent with the former in respect to that personage's age and which does not fulfill the original promise (III, 199) of relating how he got his wounds. Again, the excellent scene between Lancelot and Guinivere (V, 192 ff.) in which the latter learns that her lover cannot win the Grail, because of his sin with her, is connected by its author with the churchyard adventure (IV, 340) in which Gawain fails; but one cannot say with Lot (p. 26) that the latter was written for the special purpose of preparing the way for the former; the scene is sufficiently justified simply as one of the systematic attempts which we find made everywhere in the *Lancelot* to exalt the hero over Gawain and other knights, who are represented as failing in adventures which Lancelot is later destined to achieve.

As regards the second of Lot's grounds for his theory of single authorship—the more or less systematic chronology of the *Lancelot*—the same observation applies here as in the case of the first. If the author of what has been currently accepted as the first division of the *Lancelot*—the so-called *Galehaut*—was accustomed to give with fair consistency chronological indications as to the course of the action, it would be quite natural for any one who was carrying on his work to do the same thing. These indications, after all, are not so numerous that it would require any great effort on the part of either the original author or his (hypothetical) continuators to preserve a tolerable consistency in introducing them.

The third of the grounds for the new theory, viz., a supposed unity of plan and spirit (including style) that runs through the whole Lancelot-Graal *corpus*, suggests, also, difficulties. For example, the *Lancelot* in the *Galehaut* and *Charrette* sections, and in the earlier portions of the *Agravain*, represents, without reservations, the spirit of the *amour courtois*, often in its most extravagant forms; moreover, in parts, it is brutally licentious. On the other hand, there is no work in mediaeval literature that adopts more uncompromisingly the point of view of a rigid asceticism than the *Queste*. Lot, however, points (pp. 95 ff.) to various passages in the *Lancelot*—allegorical dreams, moral exhortations of different personages, etc.—as proving an identity of spirit throughout the series. Most of these passages, however, stand in such striking contrast to their surroundings that they have hitherto quite naturally been set down as inter-

polations. They accord perfectly with the spirit of the *Queste* or the *Estoire*, but not at all with that of the *Lancelot*. In answer to this, Lot still further cites Chrétien and Wauchier de Denain as examples of authors who turned their hands with equal readiness to the composition of secular or religious narratives. But rattling off saints' lives in facile verse is a very different matter from composing a work of profound mysticism like the *Queste*, which, as should be remembered, has made a more permanent impression on the imagination of the world than any other single production of the mystical spirit of the Middle Ages. The author of stories of rape (such as we find in certain passages of the *Lancelot*), told in detail with evident gusto, and of still other stories, based on inanities of the *amour courtois*, could not have put on with the ease of a new garment this mantle of a mystical moralist, who, in his own way, was as stern as Torquemada.

The idea that the five volumes show a unity of plan, furthermore, is open to objections. Here are just a few of them: Lot makes a great deal of the latter part of the *Lancelot* being written before the *Queste*, in order to prepare the reader for the story of the *Queste*. But the *Agravain* (as the concluding part of the *Lancelot* is called), if we accept the text as it has come down to us, prepares the reader not only for the *Queste*, but for the *Mort Artu*, which lies beyond the *Queste*. On the other hand, there is in the *Queste*, itself, no preparation whatever made for the *Mort Artu*, which comes immediately after it in the series; indeed, this branch does not contain a line to show that its author was planning the *Mort Artu*, although there was every reason for him to insert anticipatory references to that romance, since it was in this final branch that the fatal consequences of Lancelot's sin with Guinevere (the sin against which the *Queste* inveighs so mercilessly) are set forth. The explanation of these conditions seems manifest: The *Queste* was originally an independent romance, whose author had no intention of writing a *Mort Artu*, and the passages in question in the *Agravain* were composed later than the *Mort Artu* and the *Queste* for the purpose of connecting the *Lancelot* with these branches, just as the Vulgate *Merlin* continuation was later composed to connect Robert's *Merlin* with the *Lancelot*. The author of the *Mort Artu*, himself, seems to have been plainly responsible for some, at least, of the passages.

With respect to this idea of the unity of the plan, it is to be observed still further that the end of the *Agravain*, in important respects, does not harmonize at all with the beginning of the *Queste*, which comes immediately after it. For instance, at the end of the *Agravain* (V, 408) Lancelot goes frequently to see Galahad at the nunnery, where the latter is being reared; at the beginning of the *Queste* (VI, 3 f.) less than two pages further on in Sommer's edition, he knows nothing of the nunnery and is unable to recognize Galahad. Lot makes light of such inconsistencies,⁷ and endeavors to explain many of them (often satisfactorily) as characteristic of the workmanship of a single author; but to ascribe to any rational human being such flatly contradictory conceptions in regard to fundamental matters occurring within the space of two pages, as in the instance just noted, seems to us impossible. In the text of an ancient or a modern author,

⁷ Cp. especially Chapter VIII and Appendix IV. I do not believe, however, that the conflicting stories about King Label, dealt with in the latter, were both in the *Estoire*, in its original form.

no one would think of accepting such absurdities as genuine, and the present writer does not believe that we have any more right to impute them to a mediaeval author.⁸

Among the numerous other inconsistencies between the *Lancelot* and the *Queste* is to be noted the fact that when Bohort visits the Grail castle in the crowning adventure of the *Queste*, there is no intimation that he had been at this castle twice before in the *Agravain*—indeed, on one of these previous visits had spent two nights there in succession. And, for similar inconsistencies within the *Lancelot*, itself, observe the discrepancy that on Gawain's visit to the Grail castle (IV, 339 ff.) the Maimed King is lord of the castle and Pelles is not mentioned, but on Lancelot's visit (V, 105 ff.) the conditions are just reversed.

Again, it is a hard saying when Lot asserts that a unity of style prevails throughout the five volumes. To be sure, there are no obvious differences in vocabulary and sentence-structure between the branches, but the same thing is true of the *Merlin* continuations (as compared with the *Lancelot-Graal corpus*), which Lot rightly regards as of later composition, and, besides, no close study of the subject has as yet been made. From every other point of view, however, the differences of style in different parts of the *corpus* are enormous. Indeed, we have almost every conceivable variety of style within the limits of the five volumes—differences between the finer parts, and, of course, still greater differences between the finer and the inferior parts. For instance, contrast, as examples of the former, the wars of Claudas, the scenes depicting Lionel's childhood, the love-scenes between Lancelot and Guinevere (all in the so-called *Galahaut* section of the *Lancelot*) with the scene in the *Queste* where Galahad achieves the Grail quest, or the splendid epic of Arthur's last battle and translation in the *Mort Artu*. On the other hand, compare with these the pages of rubbish which follow on the *Charrette* section of the *Lancelot* (Bohort's adventures, large portions of the quest for Lancelot which commences at IV, 321) and the anaemic conclusion of that branch, V, 377 ff. (beginning with Perceval's first appearance in the story.)

These are just a few of the objections to Lot's theory of single authorship. For want of space we shall have to refer the reader to ROMANIC REVIEW, IX, 243 ff., for the evidence which the present writer has there set forth to show that, on the other hand, there is nothing arbitrary in assuming that the *Lancelot* of our MSS. is an expanded form of an earlier and simpler romance, having suffered, we may reasonably conjecture, the same fate as, we know, befell the prose *Tristan*, which still exists in a non-cyclic, as well as a cyclic form.⁹ The

⁸ See, still further, on these passages, ROMANIC REVIEW, X, 114 ff. (1919).

⁹ The frequent *rifacimenti* of the different branches of the cycle show how little compunction the romancers felt in trying to supplant existing versions with versions of their own. Cp. the three different *Merlin* continuations, the various redactions of the *Mort Artu* theme, which I have enumerated in my edition of the *Mort Artu*, pp. viii ff. (Halle, 1910), and so on. Note, too, such additional evidence as follows, pointing to an earlier form of the *Lancelot* than that which is preserved in our MSS.: (1) The opening of the *Agravain*: "Chi endroit dist li contes que quant Agravains se fu partis de sez compaignons si com vous aues oi quil erra. ij. iours sans aventure," etc. But in the extant MSS. of the *Lancelot* Agravain had not been mentioned, so something must have been lost. Lot's

argument there in favor of the composite origin of the *Lancelot* tells, of course, with even greater force in favor of the composite origin of the whole *corpus*. The above-mentioned evidence, in its main points, is virtually left out of consideration by Lot.

According to Lot's theory, the *Queste* and the *Mort Artu* were composed in succession after the completion of the *Lancelot*, in just the form in which it survives to us in our MSS. He accepts, however, as due to the author of the *Lancelot* himself, the passages which are found in certain MSS. of Part I of that branch, viz., Sommer, III, 28 f. (majority of the extant MSS.), and III, 429 (two or three MSS.), and which imply that Perceval, not Galahad, was to be the hero of the Grail quest. But both in the *Estoire*, which stands at the head of the series, and in the beginning of the *Lancelot*, itself, as everywhere else in the *corpus*, except in the passages just named (in the MSS. referred to), Galahad is the Grail Winner. To get around this discrepancy, Lot advances the theory (p. 122) that when the author of the *corpus* wrote Vol. I of the *Lancelot*, he had not invented Galahad, and that, under the influence of the Didot *Perceval*,¹⁰ Perceval still was for him the Grail Winner, but that, after composing Vol. I, and (apparently) a part of Vol. 2, he invented Galahad, stopped his work on the *Lancelot*, and composed the *Estoire*, of which up to this time he had merely carried a vague notion in his head and in which Galahad is the predestined Grail Winner—then proceeded to the completion of the *Lancelot* and the rest of the *corpus*.

I confess that these speculations of Lot's, to my mind, fail to carry conviction. To break off the composition of one huge romance in order to go back and compose another introductory romance, which was three or four

explanation (p. 12) of the division in the *Lancelot* at this point is otherwise satisfactory, but, it does not account for the unsatisfactory opening. (2) We have no right to question the existence of the romance on Helain le Blanc ("l'estoire de sa vie"), to which reference is made in the *Lancelot*, IV, 27. The author had no motive whatever for hoaxing his readers here. But Helain is the son of Bohort and Brangoire's daughter, characters that were invented by the author (or one of the authors) of the *Lancelot*, and so a romance about their son must have been later than the original *Lancelot*—yet here in our texts we have reference to this (lost) romance. I have discussed the passage more fully, ROMANIC REVIEW, IX, 355 ff. (3) Lot (cp. p. 109) gives no consideration to the statement at the end of Part I of the *Lancelot* (Sommer, III, 429), which is found in nearly all of the MSS.: "Et li contes Lancelot fu branche del Graal, si com il y fut adjouste." This certainly implies that the *Lancelot* was once separate from the Grail romances and we have no reason to interpret "li contes Lancelot" as referring to Chrétien's poem or the French *Lanzelet*, rather than to the prose *Lancelot*.

¹⁰ Lot formerly regarded the Didot *Perceval* as a late work. He now renounces (p. 133, note 2) that opinion and refers to this romance throughout his treatise as if it was the prose rendering of a lost metrical *Perceval* by Robert de Boron. Robert, however, in his *Joseph* and *Merlin*, never mentions Perceval, and there is no convincing reason to believe that he ever wrote a romance about that hero. I have ready for the press a study on this subject, which, I trust, may re-convert Monsieur Lot.

times as long as any French prose work then in existence, seems a strange enough procedure. If the author of the *Lancelot* did this, he must have, also, altered the beginning of this branch (the *Lancelot*), for the passages, III, 3, 13, already represent Galahad as the intended Grail Winner just as clearly as anything in the *Estoire*. And if he made such alterations as these in his revision of the *Lancelot*, why did he leave the obnoxious passages about Perceval standing?

As a matter of fact, it is only the passage, III, 28 f. that has sufficient MS. support to possess anything approaching authority, and there, rack our brains as we may, there is no possible explanation of this corrupt and difficult passage—an unstable basis, surely, for any far-reaching theory—except that the confusion in the MS. tradition is due to interpolation and to scribal blundering. Lot thinks (p. 112) that the reading of MS. 768 (Bib. Nat.) makes everything straight. Usually in the MSS., in the passage under consideration, whether Galahad or Perceval is named as the Grail Winner, we have the absurdity of the hero's mother being spoken of just three lines further on as his sister. MS. 768, however, not only makes Perceval the Grail Winner, but makes him and his sister children of Pelles (who, in contradiction to the general conception of the *corpus*, is here called the Maimed King). So, according to this MS., it is Perceval's sister who is named "Amide en sornon et an son droit non Heliabel." MS. 768, thus, gives a reading which is free from the absurdity, just mentioned, of the great majority of the MSS. Nevertheless, *pace* Lot, the reading of this MS. represents obviously nothing but an individual scribe's emendation, such as we find also in MS. 110 (Bib. Nat.). For, in all Arthurian romance, only in this passage and in this MS. and MS. 118 (with its dependent Arsenal 3479)—the latter, it may be, closely affiliated with the former—is Perceval represented as the son of Pelles, or his sister, who is a prominent character in more than one romance, called either *Amide* (*Amite*) or *Heliabel*. Lot makes no comment at all on the double naming found in all MSS. at this point—"Amide en sornon et an son droit non Heliabel"—but this double naming is not haphazard; it can only belong to the Galahad *Queste*: Lancelot's baptismal name, as we are told, III, 3, was *Galahad*, i.e., a name with religious associations, but he lost it on account of his carnal sin (with Guinevere), and he received then a secular name, *Lancelot*. As an exact counterpart of this, Galahad's mother (III, 28 f.), also, bore originally a name with sacred associations, viz., *Heliabel* (*Helizabet*, name of John the Baptist's mother); but when she lost her virginity (to Lancelot), she, too, received a secular name, *Amide* (*Amite*).¹¹

The passage, then, we must conclude, related originally to Galahad—or, as the present writer would say, it was a Galahad interpolation, like so many others in the *Lancelot*—and Galahad's name, not Perceval's, must have stood originally in it as the name of the Grail Winner that was to be. But, of course, Galahad's mother could not have been his sister, too, so the words, *cele fu sa suer*, must be wrong. I have no doubt, myself, that *suer* here is a blunder in the archetype for *mere*. Either the writer (in my judgment, an interpolator) or, more probably, the scribe of our archetype, in taking up the description of Galahad's mother (with especial reference to her beauty), which he had dropped three

¹¹ Cp. the fuller discussion of these matters in *ROMANIC REVIEW*, IX, 250, 256 ff. (1918).

sentences back, in order to indicate Galahad's future achievements, commits this *lapsus calami*, which passes on into the general MS. tradition, although, in some MSS., attempts were afterwards made to emend it.

The assumption here of a blunder in the archetype with subsequent attempts to emend, is not so arbitrary as may appear at first sight, for there are undeniable instances of this in our MS. tradition of the Arthurian romances.¹²

As far as the name *Pelesvaus* (*Perlesvaus*, etc.)—that is to say, *Perceval*—which is found here in so many MSS., is concerned, since it stands, as the name of the Grail Winner, virtually in this one passage of the *Lancelot*, we are forced to conclude that this, too, must have got into the tradition of such MSS. through a scribal error, after the blunder, *suer for mere*, had been established in that tradition; for, as stated above, that blunder is found in the passage under discussion in the MSS. which make Perceval the Grail Winner as well as in those which give that honor to Galahad. The second blunder involved, viz., the erroneous substitution of Perceval for Galahad here probably came about as follows: Before Galahad was invented as the hero of the Grail quest, Perceval, of course, held that position—to-wit, in Chrétien's *Perceval* and its continuations. Moreover, if the passage before us was, as I believe, a late Galahad interpolation, a scribe, transcribing it, would probably know of him (Perceval), still further, as the Grail Winner in the *Perlesvaus*, and, possibly, the Didot *Perceval*.¹³ With some or all of these romances dimly in mind, he might easily, through inadvertence, substitute Perceval's name for that of Galahad, whose name does not occur often enough in this part of the *Lancelot* to have kept itself vividly before the copyist's mind. In fact, is it not likely that many a scribe copied parts of this vast series without having any but the most superficial acquaintance with the other parts?

Owing to considerations of space, we have been able to deal only with the main thesis of this highly interesting volume. This thesis, being from the hand of a scholar who has rendered such eminent services to Arthurian research, is sure to provoke the most wide-spread discussion and will, doubtless, mark an epoch in the study of the prose-romances. There are additional chapters, however, that treat of other aspects of the *corpus*, such as the date of its composition,¹⁴ the social status of its author (probably a court chaplain), the part of France he belonged to,¹⁵ his sources and methods of workmanship, the merits and demerits of the work (an excellent chapter), and its fortunes with posterity—still further, appendices that offer successively an analysis (63 pages) of

¹² Cp. *Modern Philology*, XVI, 123 f., including note 1.

¹³ Notice that the form of the name, in the passage under discussion, viz., *Perlesvaus*, etc., is not found in the MSS. of the parts of the *corpus* where Perceval is an actor, and suggests the influence of the *Perlesvaus*. Cp. *ROMANIC REVIEW*, IV, 468 ff. (:913).

¹⁴ Cp. p. 378 above.

¹⁵ Lot (p. 150) thinks that he belonged to Meaux, because once in the *Estoire* and once in the *Mort Artu* that town is mentioned, where there seems no occasion for it in the context. In a recent article, "Mordrain, Corbenic, and the Vulgate Grail Romances," *Modern Language Notes* for November, 1919, I have argued, however, in favor of Corbie as the place of origin of the *Estoire* and *Queste*, on the basis of a somewhat more definite piece of evidence than that which Lot cites in favor of Meaux.

the narrative of the whole *corpus*, discussions of Claudas' name, of the King Label episode of the *Estoire*, of a (supposed first) redaction of the false Guinevere episode, of the *Charrette* episode in Chrétien's poem and the prose *Lancelot*, respectively, and of woman in the *Queste*. These last two appendices do not consist of technical discussions, like most of the book, but are charming literary essays from the pen of Mme. Lot-Borodine, the well-known author of *Le roman idyllique au moyen âge*. Finally, eight pages of "Additions et corrections" at the end of the volume bring the work up to date.

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La Bella Mano di Giusto de' Conti. Edited by Giuseppe Gigli. Lanciano, G. Carabba, 1916.

Giusto de' Conti, Il Canzoniere. Prima edizione completa, a cura di Leonardo Vitetti. Lanciano, R. Carabba, 1918. Two vols.

Giusto de' Conti has enjoyed a somewhat shadowy fame in literary histories as the first writer of the Quattrocento to compose an entire canzoniere on the Petrarchan model. The result, entitled *La Bella Mano* after the fair hand of his beloved, met prompt popularity and soon found its way into print, the first edition dating from 1472, and others steadily following to the end of the eighteenth century. During the nineteenth, tho scattered publications added numerous poems to the original nucleus, there was no complete reprint; but of late, with the unfortunate tendency to duplication of effort which sometimes marks Italian scholarship, two editions have appeared close together in both space and time. The first, that of Gigli, which merely reprints the original *Bella Mano* without the later pieces, adds nothing to our knowledge, and little to our convenience, since the second gives us not only the whole body of Giusto's known work, a total of 220 poems, but also much useful illustrative material. It therefore is the one which calls for serious consideration.

It begins with a brief preface defining Giusto's position in literature, and proceeds with a number of *indicazioni*: Giusto's birthplace; the year of his birth, about 1390; certain of his friends; the manuscripts, of which the Ashburnham Laurenziano 1714 is the most authoritative; the nine editions from the Bologna *princeps* to the Veronese of 1753; the arrangement of the present edition; and a bibliography of the chief articles on Giusto and his work. Then follows the text, in three divisions: the *Bella Mano* itself, a series of fifty-four additional sonnets, and a section of *rime sparse*, comprising two canzoni, a mutilated sestina, a ballata, and sundry sonnets. There are also included sonnets addressed to Giusto by other poets, and, as appendix, some notes on Giusto's life by Nicola Ratti, first published at Rome in 1824. Nothing of what is needed for a full understanding of Giusto's work is lacking, and the only defect from the point of view of a reader's convenience is the absence of an index of first lines.

A note on the variations between the new edition and its predecessors may be of some use. The order is in general the same; but five sonnets are shifted, nos. 18, 43, 38, 39, and 40 of the older editions being respectively nos. 136, 37, 141, 150, and 139 in Vitetti. He also relegates to the *rime sparse* the old nos. 41 and 42 (his 212 and 211), filling their places with two others: 137, *Tant'è possente il mio fiero disio*, and 140, *S'ell'è natural vostro o ver costume*.

Thus the total number of poems in part I remains the same, tho the figures run to 151, since the scribe of the Ashburnham manuscript included as 138 a sonnet not by Giusto but addressed to him. The text, it may be said, does not profess to be critical, and gives little in the way of variants.

A critical text, indeed, might be thought a waste of labor; yet the work of Giusto and his fellows, if it is not of high poetic merit, does not lack occasional pleasant passages, and is in any case significant as revealing the taste of the time, and as forming a chain of production which bridges the interval between Petrarch and Lorenzo de' Medici. To have maintained the tradition of vernacular poetry in the face of the Neo-Latin of the Humanists was no small achievement; and those who performed it deserve something better than neglect. Such an edition as the present affords a chance to ascertain the precise way in which Giusto utilized Dante and Petrarch, and the extent to which he was affected by the more realistic trend initiated by Fazio degli Uberti. Giusto, as a representative figure, undoubtedly merits a separate edition; if lesser poets seem not to do so, the interests of accurate study could be largely served by the diplomatic publication of the largest and best manuscripts containing Trecento and early Quattrocento work, as has been done for the poets of the Dugento and of the *dolce stil nuovo*. It would be well if some of the effort which goes into the production of unnecessary editions of the familiar classics could be turned in this direction.

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Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri, novamente rivedute, con un copiosissimo indice del contenuto di esse. Firenze, G. Barbèra, 1919.

Appearing seven years after its inception, and three after the death of its editor, this Italian counterpart of the Oxford Dante may claim some indulgence if it falls short of perfection. The publishers, finding it hard, as they gracefully say, to improve on its predecessor, have sought to give more. This additional material appears partly in the text, partly in the index; and its value for the better understanding of Dante is the criterion by which the new edition must be judged.

So far as concerns the text, we have some additions in the letters, and still more in the miscellaneous lyrics. In the former are given the allusions to letters now lost contained in the various early biographers, and the three doubtful letters written in the name of the Countess of Battifolle; the allusions are convenient, the doubtful letters at least harmless. But the treatment of the lyrics offers ground for serious complaint, by the inclusion of numerous doubtful pieces, and the lack of any indication of manuscript sources to assist the reader in judging the validity of the attributions, in some cases doubtful enough.

The arrangement of this section of the volume is chronological, the main outline being naturally provided by the scheme of the *Vita Nuova*, with reference to its poems in the appropriate places. Around them are fitted the attested miscellaneous lyrics, and others of more than doubtful authenticity, like the anonymous canzoni in the Vaticano 3213, and *Lo doloroso amor che mi conduce*. It is a gain to have *O patria degna di trionfal fama* removed; but why should Cecchi's *Morte, poich'io non trovo a cui mi doglia* still stand, without even a

question mark? It would have been permissible to put these doubtful pieces in an appendix, as is indeed here done with *Il Fiore*, thought by some to be a genuine early work; but the mixture of authentic and uncertain poems must be misleading to the untrained reader, and irritating to the scholar. It is matter for surprise and regret that no one has ever edited all the scattering pieces ascribed to Dante, with discussion of the manuscript evidence, on the model of Solerti's *Rime disperse del Petrarca*; in the absence of such a work we are reduced to drawing conclusions from scattered data. If uncertain pieces had at all cost to be given, why not have included the canzone *Era in quel giorno che l'alta reina*, which is at least consistently *stil nuovo* in technique, and in poetic merit far beyond the other uncertain pieces? We are told that the deceased editor based his choice and arrangement on "criteria molto personali"; it is unfortunate that he did not live to expound and justify them. Yet even if he had, there would remain room for doubt whether results based on such criteria should be given a place in a volume designed for the general public. On the other hand, the placing all the poetic correspondence in a section by itself is a convenience; tho here too some conjectural matter enters, as with sundry sonnets of Cino's which are not certainly addressed to Dante.

As for the index, which the publishers extol as the most remarkable feature of the book, one must likewise feel some reserve. Tho alphabetically continuous, it includes two classes of material. One is a list of proper names, with brief comment, generally of this order: *Abraam, patriarco ebreo; Nerone, imperatore romano*; in some cases, as that of Crassus, there is no descriptive phrase at all. It is hard to see wherein this is more useful than Dr. Toynbee's index in the Oxford Dante. The other is a list of philosophical terms, with rather brief definitions. This, had it been carried further, would have had genuine utility; but the treatment is at best sketchy, at worst incomplete. Under *accidente*, for instance, we are referred to *predicamenti*; but there is no such article. Here, too, accomplishment falls between the stools of a desire for inclusiveness and the lack of a sound method.

It therefore does not appear that this edition shows any real advance in scholarship, or confers any real advantage on the study of Dante, especially as it abounds in misprints, by no means all accounted for in the table of Errata. All in all, it is unfortunate that the effort which has gone into its production could not have been better applied.

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NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS

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